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HUNGRY IN CANADA

SOUTH AFRICA

TEARING DOWN THE SYSTEM

President
F.W. de Klerk
Loosens His Grip
On Apartheid

Nelson Mandela
Prepares For
Freedom



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE 11 MARCH 12 1995 VOL. 103 NO. 10

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COVER

TEARING DOWN THE SYSTEM

In the most far-reaching statement made by any South African head of government since the introduction of apartheid 42 years ago, President F. W. de Klerk announced that black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela would soon be released and that the African National Congress, along with 35 other banned or restricted organizations, would be restored to legality. — 38



ENVIRONMENT

UNDERWATER RISKS

After a Soviet nuclear submarine sank last April, officials said that there was no sign of a radiation leak. But last month, Soviet scientists expressed concern about long-term risks. As well, they displayed photos of the wreckage. Maclean's has obtained exclusive rights to publish two of the pictures. — 54



SPECIAL REPORT

THE FACE OF HUNGER

Food banks and soup kitchens have become permanent fixtures on the Canadian landscape. Experts blame rising taxes, unemployment, soaring rents and cuts in government's social spending for adding to the ranks of the hungry. And children are increasingly among those who do not get enough to eat. — 58





An Act Of Courage

President F. W. (Frederic) de Klerk's strategic reversal last week in introducing new freedom to South Africa should be treated with respect and great care by the Western countries that launched a painful trade blockade against the racially divided nation in 1985. There will be a great test for leaders in Canada, the United States and elsewhere to claim that their policies forced de Klerk to legislate the Abolition National Congress, promote freedom to Nelson Mandela and begin the dismantling of apartheid. That would be a tragically self-indulgent and defeatist approach.

Suspicious and the international isolation that accompanied them were almost certainly marginal. It required an act of personal courage and conviction by de Klerk himself to initiate the changes. And it took a similar measure of tenacity and devotion to the good of the nation by black leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, to express their willingness to accept the initiative for what it is: the likely beginning of the end of apartheid.

The immediate future, however, will be difficult and dangerous. Enthusiasts, both black and white, are already condemning de Klerk's actions. Right-wing whites say that he will destroy the country if he allows blacks to participate fully in government. Radical blacks say that the president did not go far enough because he did not immediately suspend an existing state of emergency.

De Klerk's most immediate threat is from the white right, and members of that group will be the most inflamed by any claims of victory by the boycotting nations. That should not happen. As Senior Writer Sue Corvill, who wrote part of the cover package, including his recollections of a 1961 interview with Mandela, commented, "The applause belongs to political moderation and to the people who died to bring this about."



Corvill's applause for 'political moderation and to the people who died to bring this about'

Rae Doyle

Maclean's

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Video: Compendium, Italy (Ottawa), Victor Osherson

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LETTERS

AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

I could not help but notice that, of your "Truths" who came to a different "Gomez, Dec. 25), at least one of the oldest masters were mentioned for their work in the arts. With the possible exception of Edvard Munch (died 1918) and Anne MacKenzie, these select few could not have needed their present positions of influence in Canada without the aid of government funding. What a shame it is that, due to the present state of underfunding in the field of the arts, there will undoubtedly be few Canadians to take their place on this esteemed board role in the future.

Ron Coenrae,
Montreal

A DISTURBING CARICATURE

Barbara Ansel, in her Jan. 22 column, "Going soft on the end empire," attacks Willem Karel de Vries, former Manitoba Communist MLA, for all the evil committed by the Soviet Union in the name of communism. Ansel has always presented a disturbing caricature of anti-Communist propaganda, but this time the bias goes much too far. Her vicious approach is as ridiculous as blaming every Christian for the Crusades. I very much doubt that she, as an ardent supporter of American capitalism, would be willing to share the blame for the U.S. government's saccharine-blandishment of Cambodia and continued support for the pro-socialist Khmer Rouge. I helped create

Janet Byrge,
Gatineau

Barbara Ansel laudably the whitewashing of Soviet external aggression and internal repression by journalists writing for the majority of mainstream Canadian newspapers. Sadly, "misleading journalists" is a strong Western newspaper tradition. Western journalists in the Soviet Union had from the world the death from famine of up to 10 million Soviet citizens brought about by Stalin's forced collectivization program. Under communist rule, the ends of their systems have been ignored by the Soviets themselves. Canadian journalists—drafted of offending the Kremlin or unable to "give up on the left-wing and that has failed"—control, distort and fabricate interpret the facts. The fact that their opponents and ideologues, like all fundamentalists, hold facts in contempt.

Dr. Jack Rosenthal,
Vancouver

OLD-FASHIONED APPEAL

A chairman of Magna International Inc., I have not received a salary raise for the past five years ("A savings year for greed and



Mr. Coenrae: understanding for the arts

stupidity." Business Week, Dec. 25). Also, during the past two years, I have voluntarily reduced my bonus amounts. My yearly earnings are predominantly by a formula set out in Magna's governing constitution—a formula that I introduced and caused arbitrary change. The Magna constitution limits management in taking no per cent of the company's profits period. Of that amount, I have habitually taken two per cent. The bulk of my

yearly income, therefore, is directly tied to the performance of the company. If profits are down, so is my share of income. But if profits go up, as they did last year, then my income rises accordingly and so too does that of all employees at Magna. Where is the greed or stupidity in that? I worked many long hours and many years to build Magna from scratch. I think most people would call that the old-fashioned Canadian work ethic.

Frank Stewick,
Chairman,
Magna International Inc.,
Kelowna, B.C.

SHIFTING BOUNDARIES

Canadian Pacific has taken over Jasper Park Lodge, where I worked as legally for three summers in the late 1940s ("Animal Inn," People, Jan. 29). The transcontinental route is no more—I produce even the Canadian—but I doubt that the borders of Jasper National Park and Banff National Park have shifted. I think you will find that Jasper Park sits at the Columbia foothills and, therefore, will north of Chelsea in Lake Louise, which, as long as I have known it, has been in Banff National Park.

John Anne Gosselin,
Toronto

PASSAGES

REMOVED: As vice-chairman of Canadian Mutual, Master of Ceremonies at the Vancouver Art Gallery, 55, after appearing at the gallery as the Canadian first work that he introduced with his plans to cut advertising, to two shippers companies that he owns, Gallery, publisher of *Seaports* and the *Shipping World* and Glenview Salvage, as a close friend of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who appeared him to the art board in 1984. Gallery is also chairman of the Conservative party's arts fundraising group, the 560 Club. In 1982, as vice chairman, it was positioned in 1984. Gallery denied any more, along and added that the allegations have caused him "great anguish."



APPOINTED: Artistic director of the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, Australian-born director John Mulroney, 55, who has performed with leading companies around the world and was principal dancer with the New York City-based American Ballet Theatre from 1977 to 1980, by the ballet board, to succeed Henry Jones, who died in a car crash in April, 1989.

REIGNING: Royal Bank stock exchange chairman John F. Peltier, 58, who for six years guided the world's leading exchange through some of its most turbulent times, including the October, 1987, crash, effective to year's end.

WARRIOR: Royal Family member Marina Opaty, 23, and photographer Paul Hovavsky, 26, who are expecting their first

child this spring, as an Anglican church near London. Opaty, 25th in line to the throne, claimed a world when she married with her mother, Princess Alexandra, cousin of Queen Elizabeth II, to support her mother's decision not to marry her child's father.

WON: Actor Gary Coleman, 21, star of the former popular TV series *Duff* and *Shirley*, a star launched by his mother, as a Los Angeles Superior Court. She sought control over his \$4-million fortune, alleging that her son who has only one kidney, which is atrophied, was unable to make informed decisions as a result of his affliction.

END: Boleyn champion Casey Tibbo, 60, a cowboy hero who popularized professional rodeo across North America, all victory in his lifetime, died, as a result of his

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LETTERS

GAINING PERSPECTIVE

In "Assessing the health risks" (Cover, Jan. 15), you fail to put the quoted concentrations of contaminants in a context that your readers can understand. Consider the 530 parts per billion of chloroform found in the Muldon's sample of Toronto tap water because of the chlorination process. If a resident drank one litre of this water every day for 70 years, the total volume of chloroform taken in would be 6.24 ml—about the volume of a thumbnail! A comparison of this risk with that of the micro-exposure that the chlorine treatment removes puts the matter into perspective. The same arithmetic shows that a different contaminant with a level of one part per quadrillion would, after 70 years, have about the same total volume as a single micro-exposure. Can this be truly hazardous?

John C. F. Macdonald,
Victoria

Finally how the environment poses a threat only if it's in our backyards. Toronto tap water contains 530 parts per billion of trichloroethylene, and what is the reaction? Canadians look to buy bottled water and sleep well

knowing that they are doing their part by using unleached coffee filters. Meanwhile, in the Third World, millions of children die each year of diarrhoeal disease caused by drinking water contaminated with sewage and bacteria. Does "clean water" takes on a relative meaning.

Mark Johnson
Peterborough, Ont.

Your readers should not be as shocked as they might be at the list of chemicals found in our drinking water. One such chemical that many communities have added to their water is fluoride. You should have mentioned that science does not know the long-term effects of fluoride accumulation. Besides, Canadians are concerned about their drinking water, why have proponents of fluoridation made matters worse by raising concerns about another chemical? Fluoride may save a few teeth today, but we may be locking ourselves in the future.

Dale M.R.
Lethbridge, Alta.

Your Jan. 15 cover story "Danger in the water" states that one major supermarket, in its effort to address environmental concerns, is offering "recycled toilet paper." Taken literally, it sounds disgusting.

Jean Stydial
Bramanville, Ont.

TAXING SEPARATION

Talk of separation is not ridiculous ("Selling off Canada," Letters, Jan. 22). If the federal government brings in the Goods and Services Tax, every province should separate.

Fred Kivman,
Victoria

DISTINGUISHING COLORS

In your cover article on the Romanov revolution ("Romanov unchained," Jan. 16), it is possible that your journalists are color-blind, making it impossible for them to distinguish between blue and black. The Romanov ring is blue, yellow and red.

Cindi Anderson,
Nanaimo

ASHAMED EXPATRIATE

Like most people in Europe (and I hope in Canada), I was shocked and saddened by the recent American invasion of Panama and proudly ashamed, as a Canadian, by any government's immediate endorsement of it ("The Panama war," World, Jan. 15). If Prime Minister Mulroney had hoped to serve notice of his country's status as America's most reliable ally to the world, he will not have been disappointed by press coverage on this side of the Atlantic. As for the assault



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LETTERS

And, one can only hope that the day will soon come when the United States learns the lesson the Soviets seem finally to have learned, where the sovereignty of other nations is concerned.

David Dylan Gray,
Budapest

Your Jan. 15 editorial, "In Search Of Justice," offers a very perceptive assessment of the U.S. mission in Panama and the seizure of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, both actions being a clear violation of international law. It is either curious that American public opinion, except for certain brave voices, is either warmly supportive or easily silent with respect to this latest round of global diplomacy, and that Ottawa shudders at the idea in law.

Berty Adgey,
Pictou

How can questions of international law or morality be considered without regard to motive? However debatable and tragic the Panamanian mission was in some respects, it is absurd to compare it with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The death of communism in Eastern Europe will have, it is hoped, a profound effect on the moral malaise and philosophical confusion stemming from the post-Vietnam



American troops in Panama City: 'unpredictable with Soviet invasion are ahead'

era. While the U.S. may continue to be prone to violent error in foreign policy, let us hope that its moral underpinnings will no longer be glibly equated to those of totalitarian regimes.

Pat McElrick,
Winnipeg

CHOKING BLUE JAYS

As a very regular reader of *Altogether*, may I express my disappointment at his prediction for the Toronto

Blue Jays ("Winners and losers for 1990," *Column*, Jan. 1). They did not choke in 1989. They played a glorious second half of the season and were then beaten by what was obviously the best team in baseball. And they made that contest close in each game. They were far better than the team from San Francisco, which would up against Oakland in the World Series. Dr. Poth should stop sending sports pages and actually attend some of the Blue Jays games.

Debbie D. Seveling,
London, Ont.

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LETTERS

THE FUTURE IS NOW

If the supporters of *Via Rail* all had their way, "C. Desautels the motor," *Cover*, Jan. 11, we would still be watching Mack and what information, using the slide rule and have tables in our time. We must prepare for the future, not slide in past glory.

Ham Herlein,
St. Albert, Alta.

PROVINCIAL DISPARITY

When asked whether individuals think of themselves first as federal or as provincial citizens, results from your annual survey of national opinion showed that responses differed substantially between Manitoba and Alberta, as well as between New Brunswick and Newfoundland ("The uncertain nation," *Cover*, Jan. 11). This suggests that the Prairie and Atlantic regions of Canada are not as homogeneous as politicians might like. Unless it can be shown that the results from provinces within these regions do not differ significantly, it is misleading for them to be lumped together, especially in matters of bilingualism and multiculturalism, which have had widely differing histories in these provinces.

Gerald Loren,
Winnipeg

MOVING FOOTHILLS

Regarding "National reservations in the Southwest" (*Opening Notes*, Jan. 8), if you look at a map of Alberta, you will see Hobbema is located between the towns of Pasqua and Wetaskiwin in central Alberta. This is far cry from southwestern Alberta, and not even within sight of the foothills of the Rockies, even on a clear day.

James A. Dineen,
Saskatoon

'LET THE DOLLAR RISE'

If, as economists estimate, every one-dollar rise in the dollar means a loss of \$3 billion to \$5 billion in export sales ("Today under fire," *Business*, Jan. 8), and considering that most of our exports consist of processed natural resources, I say let the dollar rise. As long as we rely on selling off our trees, oil and so on for our prosperity, we will never acquire the initiative and innovation needed to be a truly industrial nation.

Richard Weatherill,
Sidney, B.C.

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OPENING NOTES

Bob Dylan charms the French, William McKnight hitches a ride, and Oakland Ross makes an easy decision

JET-SET TRAVEL COSTS

William McKnight encountered a travel problem while visiting his southwest Saskatchewan riding on Jan. 28: there was no sign of an Air Canada flight to Ottawa, where a cabinet meeting awaited the defence minister the following day. But department of national defence officials found a solution: a Canadian Forces F-19 jet fighter in Winnipeg that was scheduled to make a regular training flight to Ottawa that day. Accordingly, the pilot of that two-seater aircraft descended 440 miles west to Saskatoon and picked up the stranded defence minister. Aside from a 50-minute refuelling stop—back in Winnipeg again—McKnight spent two hours and 30 minutes flying in the cramped cockpit before the plane touched down in Ottawa at 8 p.m. DND officials say that flying on F-19 costs \$5,389 per hour. As a result, the detour to Saskatoon added 100 miles and almost 1,000 miles to the trip and nearly doubled its cost to \$19,732. But McKnight's staff insists that the cost was justified—and he was on time for the meeting.

McKnight: a 440-mile detour west, then off to Ottawa



Calls from a cabinet minister

Just Charvet resigned his post as federal justice minister on Jan. 28, one day after Quebec Superior Court Judge Yves Morneau

stated his guarantee that Blais would return from Quebec to a judicial seat. Charvet: "I put my word and reputation on the line."

disclosed that the 51-year-old cabinet minister had been informed that to discuss evidence in a case before Morneau's court. But a month earlier, Charvet informed a staffer case before the court—and specifically talked about that case. Last December, Charvet called a district attorney in New Hampshire on behalf of Richard Blais, a Quebec truck driver who faces charges of negligent homicide arising from the Nov. 19 highway deaths of two state troopers and a prisoner they were escorting. The result, U.S. authorities refused Blais's bid to \$120,000 from \$600,000 after Charvet offered

Charvet: a pledge to U.S. officials in New Hampshire



DRESSING UP THE OFFICE

Some reporters and editors at Canadian Press's 50-member bureau in Ottawa are grumbling about a management memo that calls a cartoon of that office, the notion of wearing blue jeans to work on Fridays. According to the memo, staff members who meet the public must use "wear the kind of clothes that they would wear for an interview with a cabinet minister." For her part, newly appointed bureau chief Wendy Eckman, 32, said only, "This is internal CP business." Next: spot checks for clean fingernails and freshly scrubbed faces?

Oh say can you see, eh?

Closer economic ties between the two countries have prompted some U.S. political scientists to update a heavy prediction: Canada will join the United States by the year 2000. Indeed, in an article that ran in several U.S. newspapers, San Francisco-based Walter Anderson, a former lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley, claimed that among "harmless" leading Canadian politicians and businessmen, "the discussion takes the form of a respectful freewheeling that Canada will find itself with no practical alternative to giving up on separate constitutional existence, no doubt."



Dylan (left), Taylor: a gold cross from Jean in the French government

FRANCE HONORS A CULTURAL HERO

Bob Dylan received French officials's stamp of approval last week, he joined other U.S. artists including musician Jerry Lewis and film star Elizabeth Taylor as a commissioner of the Order of Arts and Letters. The costume-picked singer, who was in France to perform a series of concerts, received the order's gold cross from French Culture Minister Jack Lang at a brief ceremony in Paris's ornate Palais Royal. Does Dylan, Lang's chief of staff, told Maclean's that he and other key government officials who

like Dylan's music had lobbied for that honor. Pegreter recalled that, as a university student, he had even written an essay examining Dylan's lyrics for signs of political radicalism. Added Pegreter, "Dylan's constants are: individualism, anti government, and creative towards leaders and gains." Armed with that knowledge, Pegreter said that dissent argues had been made to ensure that Dylan would not spend the award as "too bourgeois." "Sometimes you do need a watchman to know which way the wind blows."

BEDEVILLED FRIED CHICKEN

The television ads, featuring an actor dressed in a red satin costume, urged viewers to pick up a "devilishly good" meal at 79 Kennedy Fried Chicken outlets in Atlantic Canada. But soon after the 30-second spots began appearing, hundreds of viewers telephoned trouble-shooters and, citing unexplained reports about satanic cults, said that the ads would stimulate devil worship. In response, the eight regional franchise holders cancelled the spots last month, only 17 days after launching a planned two-month ad campaign. Said Charles Gault, a marketing director for Halifax-based Edwards Fine Food, which owns 14 of the outlets: "These reports, combined with a mainstream nastiness, have created a real crisis." That, at least, was not the devil's handwork.

Goodbye to all that

Reporter Oakland Ross left The Globe and Mail last month—about a year after publisher Ray Megargy



Ross: writing a novel

switched key staff changes and increased the newspaper's coverage of business news. But Ross, 37, who had returned from the Globe's now-closed African bureau in Monrovia, Liberia, said that he was leaving to write a novel rather than to protect changes at the Globe. Still, he added, the editorial changes had "made it easier to make the decision."

Fuelling concern

Shaving allegations that several incidents at social clubs occurred at the Mount Cadillac clubhouse on St. John's, Nfld., in the mid-1990s have also drawn attention to the provincial agency responsible for child welfare. And Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells recently fueled concern about the department of social services' effectiveness when he named a former Liberal MP without any formal qualifications in social work to be an assistant deputy minister at the ministry. Brian Tully, a 30-year legislative veteran, led the midwinter ministerial ruling of Tully to the Times last April. Wells said that Tully's experience as a school principal had helped him quickly for a job, paying a salary of up to \$72,000 yearly, but opposition leader Thomas Monaghan argued that the appointment was nothing less than "political patronage of the highest order."

Wells, arguments about an appointment



CHICKEN

*Sits
your
STYLE*

382 calories per serving

Chicken Chile

2 cup vegetable oil	40 ml
1 onion, garlic, minced	2
1 sweet yellow or green pepper, about	
1 onion, chopped	
1/2 cup onion, sliced	
1/2 cup small mushrooms	125 g
1/2 cup fresh or frozen chicken in salsa sauce	100 g
1/2 cup chile powder for 1/2 lb. beef	15 ml
1/2 cup each ground coriander and cumin	5 ml
1/2 cup each paprika and oregano powder	2 ml
1/2 cup salt	1 ml
1/2 cup each black pepper and hot pepper flakes	
1 cup (175 mL) oil tomatoes, drained	1
1 cup (175 mL) oil hot kidney beans	1
(optional)	

In large saucepan heat 2 cups (50 mL) of oil over medium heat. Cook garlic, pepper, onion, onion and mushrooms for 5 minutes, stirring often. Set aside. Add remaining oil to pot. Brown chicken over high heat for 5 minutes or until firm on outside. Add 1/2 cup of oil. Remove. Return pepper mixture, onion to low heat, stir in seasonings. Cook, stirring often, for 5 minutes. Stir in tomatoes, salt, beans, bring to a boil. Simmer 15 minutes. Drain and remove. 15 minutes. Serve with rice, beans or potatoes with rice. Cook, stirring often, until done. Cook, stirring often, until done. Cook, stirring often, until done.

The whole family will love chicken Mexican-style!

ANOTHER VIEW



Seeking a role for the Queen's man

BY CHARLES GORDON

Newspaper ads purchased by the department of the secretary of state set out the details. "The Governor General will take a Royal Salute and inspect the 100-person military band of Honour before leaving the grounds of Parliament Hill for the airport, accompanied by a mounted escort of the RCMP, to proceed to Rideau Hall."

Only the last line seemed grossly Canadian: "His grace will then be in public parking available on Parliament Hill."

The ceremony combined a British past that few surviving Canadians remember and a past one Canadian did forget, acronyms as they are to an acronymized Canada. It was the day after thousands of Canadians watched the Super Bowl and thousands of others drove across the border for a day of shopping in the United States.

What relevance could a new governor general have to such a place?

When the day came, a few hundred people gathered on Parliament Hill as first of the Plaza Tower to watch. Because such an event, like so much of modern life, makes sense only on television, the spectators outside could get only glimpses of the occasion. They saw black cars pull up and people get out. They saw the Prime Minister and the chief justice of the Supreme Court take a few steps towards them, stand there for a few seconds, then turn around and walk away. They saw Ray Hnatyshyn, the governor general-to-be, wearing a top hat, do the same thing, accompanied by the Prime Minister, who had somehow reappeared. They heard his brief, one-syllable utterance.

On to one side, they saw three demonstrators. One held a picture of a fetus. Another held an anti-abortion sign. A third held various signs and, in a strong voice, belted out observations relating to the relationship between the government and the issue. Occasionally, the crowd chuckled. The day, which was all around, left him alone, even when he greeted

the arrival of Hnatyshyn, with the shouted comment: "Another patronage appointment!"

The outside crowd, which seemed to consist of ordinary Canadians dressed in ordinary wear, seemed divided by the fact that Hnatyshyn was unable in the world of theories, not carpets and the Great Seal, long made governor general. When he reappeared, the demonstrators were still there, surrounded by the authorities and tolerated by the crowd. The crowd gave Hnatyshyn a round of applause, the cheering ended for having been done with glances only—a cold round of applause, you could call it, but one the less warm.

The traditional case for the governor general is that he represents the Queen, performs important ceremonial duties and, because he is above politics, serves a unifying role. Perhaps the way of us are much impressed by the governor general as Queen's representative, but the conventional usefulness of the governor general should not be underestimated. The elected leader of the country, the prime minister, would be surprised if he had to serve alone in the land of state. Everywhere, there are cornerstones to be debated, troops to be reviewed, visiting heads of state to be fed. There are awards to be awarded. Canada seems to lead

the world in the number of honorary prizes given out; it were not for the governor general, the prime minister would have to spend a great deal of his time shaking hands with authors.

Throughout our history, the governor general has taken on these duties and left the prime minister free to run the country. Though the prime minister's use of that free time has not always been widely admired, most Canadians would prefer their prime minister to be governing, rather than standing around having people curtsy to him.

The theory goes that the governor general, in doing all these things, establishes Rideau Hall as a centre of excellence and unity for the country. The practice is that the country, when it thinks about the matter, is divided into two camps: those who like and those who don't like the governor general. For some reason, the office itself has not been a place in our hearts, so we tend to judge the institution by the current occupant.

Thus, we find the institution criticized for being too remote, too distant, too out of the realm of the elegant Jeanne Sauvé and his gilded-classroom regime. Before that, the governor-generalship was being criticized for lacking dignity by those who objected to the solemn Ed Schreyer, who opened Rideau Hall to a variety of people, some of whom were not as well known as New Ray Hnatyshyn is being welcomed by those who have seen no signs of Sauvé and have decided that his appearance better after all.

In many ways, the two sides of the argument represent the two aspects of the English-speaking half of our national character. One side, whether British or Canadian, wants the governor general to be just-folks, with the old fuddy-duddy hat thrown in and the people free to wander the grounds. The other side, pulled more by the British connection, wants to see dignity and pomp. The Prime Minister of the time, television version of Sandra Gwyn's book, showed us a few weeks ago what that looked like. Clearly, there was great fun at Rideau Hall, but not everybody was invited.

Opening up, both literally and figuratively, will help, but it won't, in fact, be enough to make the office much more to Canadians. Nor that the governor general should actually exercise any power. Nobody really wants that, although we are comforted by the notion of him taking to his heels with the prime minister, fleeing, retreating and waiting, in accordance with the old motto: "I will be there when you are."

Nor should the G-G think about delivering himself of pronouncements on the important issues of the day. Both Schreyer and Sauvé tried that—once each—and found their words greeted with horror by press and public. No, what the G-G has to do is to be a good man, in his, much as the First Lady in the United States has often done. If the governor general took up the war against drugs or the campaign for literacy, for example, he could lead in a positive way, have some fun and make his job mean something.

It might be a good idea about the scene that greeted him at Parliament Hill. Making such scenes continue to be part of our national life is not a bad mistake either.

Charles Gordon is in development with The Ottawa Citizen.

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You could win a Vancouver Holiday for 4
or a 30-day stay at a 5-star resort
Details at your supermarket meat counter

For more than 100 years, the quality of our food has been a source of pride for Canadians. Now, we're taking it to the next level. Enter the "SHOW US YOUR STYLE" Recipe Contest. You could win a Vancouver Holiday for 4 or a 30-day stay at a 5-star resort. Details at your supermarket meat counter.



A Canadian F-18 jet over West Germany. Baker (below left) Shevardnadze (below right), better access to military data

CANADA

OPENING THE SKIES

**NATO AND WARSAW
PACT MINISTERS
MEET IN OTTAWA
TO CLEAR THE WAY
FOR INSPECTION
OVERFLIGHTS**

At 9:16 a.m. on Jan. 4, a Canadian F-18 fighter jet took off from the runway at Frobisher Bay, near Inuvik, and flew over the Russian countryside. It carried 15 Canadian reconnaissance officials, 11 Canadian observers—and hopes for a more peaceful world. For almost three hours, the F-18 cruised over Moscow, flying over several sensitive Soviet military bases along the way. That flight was the first test of the feasibility of the so-called open skies concept, under which members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact would be able to fly over each others' coun-

tries, photographing military bases and acquiring with electronic radar to make sure that the other side was not preparing for war while talking about peace. It is an old proposal frustrated by mutual suspicions. But next week in Ottawa, after months of intensive work by Canadian diplomats, a meeting of NATO and Warsaw Pact foreign ministers is expected to breathe new life into the idea. The hard diplomats are convinced that they stand on the verge of a diplomatic triumph that will make the open-skies concept a reality.

After the two-day meeting of ministers and officials from the 24 NATO and seven Warsaw Pact nations—including Soviet Foreign Minis-

ter Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker—as an army of 300 officials will spend two more weeks hammering out a formal open-skies treaty, some analysts caution that serious difficulties remain unresolved. But Canadian diplomats say they are confident that the essential elements of a treaty will be negotiated in Ottawa, although some details of the agreement may not be resolved until a further round of talks that are scheduled to precede a signing ceremony in the Hungarian capital of Budapest in April or May. Said Ralph Lippynsky, director of the external affairs department's arms-control and disarmament division: "This effort is doomed to succeed."

At the very least, the meeting will make history. The Ottawa conference, which will take place in the Government Conference Centre, will be the first to bring NATO and Warsaw Pact foreign ministers together around a single table since the current wave of reform talks began in 1989.

For his part, Lippynsky knew the history of the concept, first proposed by President Dwight Eisenhower in 1954 and rejected at that time by the Soviets. Lippynsky also knew that, under a widespread optimism agreement, the middle and lower powers—including Canada—stood to gain the most. That is because, as long as surveillance aircraft belonging to each alliance are excluded from the other's airspace, the smaller members of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact have to rely on the sophisticated spying abilities of their respective superpowers for much of the information they receive about their potential adversaries. Proponents of open skies argue that lesser powers would be better off gathering their own information from independent overflights. Says Lippynsky: "Open skies is a democratic."



ter's Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Said Albee Dancy, a spokesman for Clark: "We are dealing with a new crowd and a new crowd. It is extraordinary."

The only foreign minister not expected last week to attend the Ottawa meeting on Feb. 12 and 13 was Denmark's Uffe Ellemann-Jensen,

who recently underwent back surgery. Instead, another Danish representative will join the NATO and Warsaw Pact ministers in spending part of the conference reviewing conventional arms-control talks that are under way in Vienna. Those negotiations are expected by year's end to yield a treaty slashing NATO and the Warsaw Pact's troop levels by up to 30 per cent. But the focus of the Ottawa conference will clearly be on open skies.

Indeed, some diplomats say that Canada's success in promoting open skies is a sign that diplomatic efforts by the middle powers can still result in concrete achievements. The efforts began when officials at Helsinki—including Lippynsky—learned through diplomatic contacts late last month that President George Bush had asked his staff to develop a list of arms-control options. His request came at a critical moment. Bush was heading preparing to meet in Brussels on May 20 to mark the 60th anniversary of the alliance, an anniversary light was shaping up over German opposition to the use of chemical and biological weapons on German soil. Bush wanted to announce a new disarmament initiative to distract attention from the issue. Said John Noble, director general of External Affairs' International Security and Arms Control Bureau: "We were faced with the prospect of a half-anniversary celebrating 40 years of unity breaking down."

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With the Brussels summit just weeks away, Canadian officials decided to make an effort to actively promote the concept. In late April, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney sent Bush a letter asking the President to support open skies, offering Canada's help and asking that it be put on the agenda for Mulroney's coming visit to Washington. On May 4, when Mulroney and Clark sat down to lunch with Bush and Baker in Washington, the U.S. President asked his Canadian guests to discuss the concept further. The next day, Bush told his officials that he would propose an open-skies treaty at the NATO conference. Last week, a senior U.S. official told Mulroney's press secretary that the President had decided to press for a decision. "The letter and Mulroney's word went in at an extraordinarily opportune

National Notes

ENGLISH ONLY

Prime Minister Jean Mulroney brushed off an "ideally reversible" decision by Sudb. St. John's, Ont. (population 23,000) to declare English the city's only official language. The city council vote has no practical effect. Ottawa had designated the city and its surroundings bilingual because at least 10 per cent of the area residents speak French.

THE PRICE OF INJUSTICE

Mr. Scott's movement asked a panel of Ontario judges, Gregory Evans, to determine whether Donald Marshall, 34, should receive additional compensation for the 11 years he spent in prison for a murder that he did not commit. A week earlier, a royal commission had concluded that John Scott's anti-racism efforts had been "inadequate" and that the \$770,000 in compensation he has already received was not enough.

A BRUTAL CRIME

The Manitoba provincial court sentenced a 15-year-old Winnipeg boy to three years in custody—the maximum penalty allowed under the Young Offenders Act—for the brutal stabbing deaths of a 36-year-old woman and her 50-year-old daughter last June. The youth, who cannot be named under the act, is one of the youngest ever convicted of murder in Canada.

RELIGION AND THE LAW

The Ontario Court of Appeal struck down a provision in Ontario's Education Act restricting religious classes in public elementary schools. The court ruled that the provision violates guarantees of freedom of conscience and religion in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

STREP LOAN DISCIPLINE

The Federal Business Development Bank relieved chief operating officer Kenneth Nelson of his responsibilities and from the salaries of 14 other managers for periods of three to 18 weeks. The disciplinary action followed disclosures in December that the bank had made loans totalling \$47 million to 38 spin clubs since 1981.

SLAMMING THE LEAD

Researchers at the University of Alberta in Edmonton concluded that the lead lining of ion lead cars posed the members of the doomed 1945 expedition of Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin. The conclusion was based on analysis of the recovery of a lead-lined car from the wreckage of a ship that was found in the Northwest Passage.

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Canadian soldiers in West Germany: political pressure to bring the troops home

Military manoeuvres

The Armed Forces confront new priorities

It was a time that Canada's military planners look back on with regret. In 1952, at the height of the Cold War, Liberal cabinet minister C. D. Howe told the House of Commons, "If the Army decides they want a gold-plated pan, we buy the gold-plated pan." At that time, the Canadian military knew its enemy and its mission—and enjoyed the support of its government. But 38 years later, the Cold War is undergoing a seemingly irreversible thaw. And with the threat of war between the East and West receding, Howe's Conservative successors in Ottawa, like their counterparts from Washington to Moscow, are determined to cut defence spending. That will clearly leave the global strategic balance greatly altered—and big military planners groping to draw up a plan for the most far-reaching shakeup of the Canadian Forces since the traditional three services of Army, Navy and Air Force were unified in 1966.

The pressure to reshape Canada's 88,000-member military intensified with last April's federal budget, in which Finance Minister Michael Wilson cut \$2.7 billion over five years from the department of national defence, whose current annual budget is \$11.2 billion. At the same time, the Tories also began pressuring Defence to consider shifting the focus of the Canadian military to such nontraditional jobs as environmental cleanups. Other critics of the country's present military stance—including

Liberal leadership candidate Jean Chrétien—have also said that Canada should withdraw the troops it has kept stationed in Europe continuously since shortly after the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949. The result has been a year of tense debate at the highest levels of the department in anticipation of even more defence cuts in Wilson's next budget, expected late this month. Saul Altmann, executive director of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies in Toronto, "Foreign and defence policy are being made in Wilson's office, not at External or Defence."

Military planners have yet to reach a consensus on how to deal with the cuts. But the withdrawal of Canada's 8,000-member NATO contingent now serving in southern Germany is plainly one option. Maintaining Canadian troops in Europe currently costs Ottawa more than \$1 billion a year. In fact, defence industry sources say that Defence Minister William McKnight proposed withdrawal last December—but that cabinet rejected it. Then, last month, McKnight said in a speech that, despite the increased democratic

aspirations of Eastern Europe, a pullout of Canadian troops "would create further instability in an already unstable situation."

But other politicians and governments have been less cautious about the NATO commitment. The New Democratic Party, for one, has traditionally favored complete withdrawal from the alliance. In Europe, meanwhile, Belgium has indicated that it may pull its 15,000-member NATO contingent out of West Germany. And President George Bush last week proposed withdrawing 60,000 of the 105,000 U.S. troops presently stationed in Central Europe, almost all of those in West Germany—if the Soviet Union withdraws 270,000 of its 565,000 troops in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary (page 35).

In fact, these were indications last week that the government is already reconsidering the question of Canadian troops in Europe. In the wake of Bush's proposal, Mulroney told the House of Commons that those troops are the subject of "ongoing discussions" within the government. In fact, a withdrawal would also resolve one of the army's more pressing concerns: replacing its obsolete Leopard tanks and M-113 personnel carriers, at an estimated cost of \$2.5 billion. Defence analysts note that a Canadian-based army would need only lightly armored, non-transportable vehicles—at a fraction of the cost of new tanks. But those vehicles would also change the character of the army, making it into a highly mobile force suitable for international peacekeeping duties and rapid-log attacks on Canada by small commando teams—but unable to sustain helicopter combat. Says Morrison: "The army would become a constabulary rather than a fighting force."

Some politicians and observers say that the role of the Armed Forces in Canada would even more drastically. Members of the government have suggested to the defence department that, in the future, Armed Forces personnel might become involved in environmental monitoring and cleanup, patrolling Canada's coast and west-coast fisheries and taking part in the war against drug smugglers.

In fact, a subtle shift in the role of the Canadian military has already begun. In December, Ottawa ordered Defence to place one Canadian destroyer, *HMCS Saginaw*, at the disposal of the Fisheries Department for patrol duties. Shortly after, on Jan. 13, the *Saginaw* gave chase to a U.S. sealigginger, the *Concordia*, suspected of poaching in Canadian waters. That pursuit ended unsuccessfully when the *Concordia* managed to escape into U.S. waters. But the incident was one sign that for the Canadian military, the future may offer some radical tasks with traditional roles.



McKnight: tense debate

MARC CLARK with S. KATE FULTON in Ottawa

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A PAINFUL MEDICINE

I made the dingy Golden Hens Milk Bar on Constitution Square a constant Warsaw, elderly men and women in heavy overcoats lined up to buy a creamer. Sweating restaurant workers planked bowls of stew and mugs of tea on their battered tin trays. But instead of hauling over stoves, most of the customers produced a book of tickets issued by the Polish Red Cross entitling them to a free meal. When the Golden Hens began serving free food last September, only 15 or 20 people came each day. But by last week, about 500 a day were being served, and manager Beatrixa Al-tanaka said that the demand keeps growing.

"We have to keep going 12 or 14 hours a day to keep up," she said. "The need is so great."

The elderly customers at the Golden Hens were driven to accept handouts by rising inflation that raised prices by an average 50 per cent in January alone, virtually wiping out their savings and reducing the value of their pensions to the equivalent of just a few dollars a month. The cheap poor food, which took effect on Jan. 1, was part of the Solidarity-led government's bold program to break down Poland's crumbing socialist system into a free-market economy in one giant leap. The government kept almost all prices from controls, cut most subsidies to enterprises and sharply devalued the Polish currency, the zloty.

At the same time, the parliament passed two laws that set a timetable for privatizing many state enterprises, established a system of unemployment insurance and provided a framework for taking falling businesses into bankruptcy. The program, worked out in negotiations with the Warsaw-based International Monetary Fund, will also release about \$3.2 billion worth of Western grants and credits for Poland. It is by far the most ambitious economic program in the once Communist-dominated countries of Eastern Europe—and, depending on its success, may be a signpost or a warning for the other Eastern Bloc states. A Harvard University professor who advised Poland's gov-

AUSTERITY MEASURES HAVE PUSHED ORDINARY POLES INTO THE FRONT LINES OF AN ECONOMIC WAR

ernment on the plan, has labeled it "shock therapy."

For many Poles, the first effects of the program were noted a week after New Year's celebrations, they woke up to find that the prices of dozens of basic goods had skyrocketed overnight. Food and train rides doubled in price, electricity went up by 300 per cent, coal

priced by 600 per cent, and bread prices quadrupled. Large at last alone, for many years the country's most notorious economic ills, virtually disappeared as many consumers cut back their purchases. Even Warsaw's streets became less crowded, and its air, as an somewhat less polluted; sharply higher gasoline prices prompted motorists to use their cars less. Thousands of others, no longer able to afford luxuries or auto registration fees, simply gave up driving.

For the Solidarity-led government of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, which took office last August, implementing such a harsh program presented obvious risks. As a trade union movement in the early 1980s, Solidarity was formed first of all to protect its members' living standards. But the austerity plan driven up by Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz pushed ordinary Poles into the front lines of their government's economic war. Balcerowicz himself acknowledged that the plan will cut real wages by at least 20 percent this year and then about 400,000 out of work as unprofitable companies go bankrupt.

Such action would almost certainly have sparked massive labor unrest if it had been taken by the previous Communist government. But one month into the new austerity plan, Poles remain remarkably behind the Mazowiecki government. Despite some unrest among students and farmers, opinion surveys show that about 70 per cent of voters back the program—even though they acknowledge that it will probably hurt them. "Frankly, I am surprised that the support remains so strong," said Piotr Nowak-Koski, a former Solidarity union leader who now is a member of state in the president's office. He added, "Poles understand very well that this will hurt them a lot. There is simply no one else to pay for the past 40 years of mistakes and waste."

In part, Mazowiecki's government has benefited from the absence of serious rivals for political support. That was underlined last week



Vendors in Warsaw's Praga quarter; a coal seller (below left) public support

when the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), the old Communist party that ruled for four decades, voted itself out of existence. During a special congress in Warsaw's Palace of Culture, a Solidarity editor said that for many Poles symbolizes the worst aspects of a past they are trying to escape, the overwhelming majority of the 1,800 delegates voted to dissolve the PZPR after their leaders told them that the party had been responsible for political crimes and economic mismanagement. The delegates then peacefully split into two new parties—a majority group calling itself the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, and the smaller Social Democracy of Union.

It was the second time that an Eastern European Communist party had dissolved itself. Last October, Hungarian Communists renamed themselves the Hungarian Socialist Party in a similar attempt to put the era of the past behind them. That has not brought them much new support, and it appeared that their Polish counterparts who faced an uphill battle. In recent weeks, angry demonstrators have broken into party offices around the country, demanding that holdings and other assets, which the Communists have acquired illegally since the late 1940s, be turned over to public use. After members of the majority Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland group voted to keep control of the old Communist party's assets pending a government review of

what to do with them, Solidarity leader Leszek Walicki accused them of "political arrogance."

The deep public anger against the Communists and their old agenda has given the Solidarity government an opportunity to attribute tough measures that would amount to political losses in many countries. But in Poland, where the annual inflation rate topped 600 per cent by the end of 1988, most voters were desperate for a solution to the crisis.

Wildfire Poles, especially those with hard-currency bank accounts, could protect themselves from the worst effects. But those whose economic position was already precarious, including the elderly pensioners at the Golden Hens Milk Bar, face the little security they enjoyed under the old system was swept away. A typical pension in Poland is 300,000 zlotys (about \$150 a month)—and many people receive less than that. "We get all types of people, including retired professors from the universities," said Altanaka, the restaurant manager. "Some of them worked for 40 years and are left with literally nothing. They are very sad about it as is the situation, and they are very bitter as well. They don't even know where to turn for their bitterness."

There is change of handing out social aid say that they have never experienced such demand for help. The Red Cross sent up its first soup kitchen in Warsaw last September. It now operates 477 kitchens around the country.

World Notes

YUGOSLAVIAN VIOLENCE

Yugoslavian officials raised the specter of civil war as violence continued in the ethnic Albanian, mostly Muslim province of Kosovo. Tens of thousands of Serbs fled the area in the north, and the violence spread to the predominantly Christian Serb republic. The government crackdown on protests has left dozens of people dead since the violence began on Jan. 24.

BULGARIAN COMMUNISTS RESIGN

Bulgaria's parliament elected retired Communist leader Liudmila Stankova as prime minister following the resignation of a more conservative Communist government, which had failed to contain opposition parties to year to continue to rule the country and elections in May. Earlier, at an emergency congress in the capital of Sofia, the Communist party approved a manifesto for "a modern Marxist party."

KNIAL CHRISTIAN BATTLE

In Lebanon, at least 133 Christians were killed and 870 wounded when Christian Gen. Michel Aoun's troops attacked rival Christian Lebanese forces in an effort to win full control of Christian East Beirut. Syrian-backed Lebanese President Hafez Hafez has denounced Aoun as a traitor commander, but Aoun refuses to recognize Hafez's authority.

ISRAELI IMMIGRATION

The European Community and the Soviet Union urged Israel not to let Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union settle in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, saying that such settlement would endanger prospects for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israeli officials denied that they have any policy of placing new immigrants in the occupied territories. An estimated 20,000 to 300,000 Soviet Jews are expected to arrive in Israel this year.

U.S. AID TO EL SALVADOR

The White House reported \$446.7 million in economic and military aid for El Salvador in 1991, an increase of \$71.4 million over this year's level. But congressional critics are threatening to tie the aid to progress on human rights and a commitment by El Salvador's military government to negotiate an end to its 11-year-old civil war with anti-war guerrillas.

A REFORM IN GUATEMALA

Ricardo Pineda, 63, a former governor of the U.S. territory of Guam, who was facing a five-year prison term for conspiracy to commit a sabotage or a kidnapping in Guatemala, the capital, and shot himself to death.

selling 20,000 loaves a day. Mica Lison, who runs Red Cross social assistance programs in Warsaw, said that many sources of help have been withdrawn. State-owned enterprises, forced under the government's economic plan to be profitable or face bankruptcy, have stopped donating money to social funds. And the government has halted the practice of using hard-currency reserves to send sick children to foreign countries for operations that they could not get in Poland. "We are facing a much harsher social climate," said Lison. "For now, people just clutch their loaves and endure it. But I fear that time will come when they will not take it anymore."

It is not only those who have been forced to seek social assistance who are feeling the pinch. For many middle-class Poles, too, things have not done been worse. In her four-room apartment in a high-rise building in southeastern Warsaw, Jolanta Szabo, a 42-year-old university lecturer, told



Anti-Communist protester after clashing with police at Communists party congress anger

how she has had to cut her family's spending to get through the past two months. On Christmas Eve, instead of eating the traditional Polish meal of carp, they made do with a cheaper dinner of herring. And instead of sending a dozen friends to share their food, they ate alone and limited themselves to what she called "symbolic" Christmas gifts. Still, Szabo proudly displayed receipts for her donations of 500,000 zlotys, or about \$25, to help set up the government to help ease the impact of the economic plan. Others have donated jewelry, antiques and even fur coats. "The most important thing is that it is our government," said Szabo. "We never felt this before."

Many Solidarity leaders maintain that they

can count on that kind of trust only until spring.

"The case deserves joint work by Mity," said Andrzej Szlachetkowski, the speaker of Poland's Senate and a veteran Solidarity figure. "Poles still have their roots in the countryside where the tradition is that the winter is hard. But in spring, they will be demanding something new, and we must have concrete results to show or face trouble." Under the government's economic plan, those early results will come in the fight against hyperinflation. Officials predict that inflation will be running at a relatively modest five per cent a month by April, when Solidarity must face its first public test in nationwide local elections.

But by then, the officials admit, many enter-

prises will have been forced to lay off workers. The Hungarian government has vowed not to impose social controls that cannot survive in the free market. If a strike in that gleam, say World Bank economists, as many as one million Poles could be unemployed by the end of 1990. The government's bet is that private entrepreneurs will step in to start new firms and hire many of those who lose their jobs. If that does not happen fast enough, the coalition Solidarity activists now running Poland may get a taste of the type of unrest that doomed earlier attempts at overhauling the economy.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Warsaw

EMERGING FROM TYRANNY

While Poland continued to teeter to Communist rule, Romania struggled with the Agency for Civic Cooperation. Early in the year, 20,000 protesters marched in Bucharest, the capital, demanding the resignation of Nicolae's ruling National Salvation Front. That coalition of former Communists, military officers and anti-Communists took power in December last year after a popular uprising ousted hard-line communist Nicolae Ceausescu, who was executed three days later. The protesters accused the front of trying to perpetuate one-party rule, but when they arrived at Victory Square in the heart of the city, they were confronted by another group of about 6,000 pro-government demonstrators. The two sides jostled and exchanged insults, and at least three

people suffered stab wounds. The next day, another 20,000 pro-from demonstrators demonstrated against leaders in "Protesters" and banged the headquarters of the Liberal and Peasant parties, forcing opposition leaders to flee. By week's end, tens of thousands had moved to roads that front leaders agreed to give up their monopoly on power.

These forces were widely opposed during the December elections. "We have a great election in this country," declared Cezar Ionescu, deputy chairman of the front's executive committee, who went to Peasant party headquarters to try to placate the crowds. "These men are not well-informed, but they don't know the rules of democracy." Last Thursday, after six hours of round-table discussions, the front and leaders of 29 opposition parties agreed to form a new coalition government to share power until elections on May 20—the country's first democratic elections in four decades. And the front, which had been under fire for its plans to control the elections even while it held all legislative and executive pos-

ses, agreed to accept rules itself as a political party. Declared Cezar Ionescu, leader of the National Peasant Party. "We have achieved everything that we have been asking for."

The new Provisional Council for National Unity will have 130 seats, with each of the 30 parties, including the front, appointing three members. Another 42 members will be elected by local districts, and the remaining 45 will be chosen by consensus. But the accord did not spell out how that consensus will be reached or how the 16 core members of the council's executive committee will be chosen. "The situation is not unique," said Liberal party president Radu Ciugreanu, "but so is the explosion." With those tentative first steps towards multiparty democracy, Romania could well begin to emerge from its long, hard struggle against tyranny.

MARY KENNETH and SUE WASSERMAN in Bucharest

Some of our clients make a lot of dough.

Shannon Dunne attended the Federal Business Development Bank's "How to Start Your

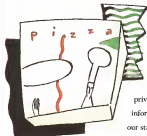


Own Business" seminar because she wanted to go into the pizza business.

Today, Pizzanne's U-Bake Pizza is a delicious success, with 10 retail franchises mostly in the Winnipeg area. Shannon says the seminar put her business on the right track. In addition to seminars, we help businesses secure financing from other institutions. We can also provide venture capital, loans, loan guarantees, counselling and planning

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WORLD

EAST GERMANY

Uniting the fatherland

Modrow wants a single but neutral Germany

Hitherto, dishevelled Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev, "pensive [those who] come late," Gorbachev directed that ambassador at East Germany's hard-line Communist leader, Erich Honecker, told Gorbachev that the Soviet Union would not disavow its stance toward the East. Now, however, Gorbachev himself is struggling to keep pace with the rapid changes sweeping Eastern Europe. And in June 30, in a speech to the East German parliament, the modification of Germany, Gorbachev said East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow that he would not rule out the possibility of reunification. This was an apparent reversal of the Soviet position on German reunification. To discuss the subject, Western analysts said that Gorbachev's remarks were a signal that the Soviet Union is willing to consider a dramatic strategic engagement in Central Europe. "There are no longer any differences of opinion," declared Egon Krenz, a senior member of East Germany's opposition Social Democratic Party. "It is no longer a question of, but when, how and what form a united Germany will take."

“They forced me against a car, handcuffed me from behind my back and tossed me in the back seat of their pickup truck.”

HAZARDONIS DUTY



Your correspondent for Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine, Joseph Gannon, was detained by Salvadoran security forces and accused of being a terrorist. Maybe he got a little too close to the action. But he got a great story.

With law and order crumbling and the East German economy in tatters, Modrow tried desperately last week to hold his country together long enough to vote. Early in the week,

Macleans

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE



Jack Daniel's distillery in Lynchburg, Tennessee. Photo courtesy of Jack Daniel's Inc.

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JACK DANIEL'S TENNESSEE WHISKY

Typed like a bookend about Jack Daniel's Whiskey, written here in Lynchburg, Tennessee. 37253 U.S.A.

he signed an accord with some opposition parties to open the elections up to March from their original date in May. And he agreed to form a new "grand coalition" government, with each of the opposition parties appointing a minister without portfolio in what Moscow's 27-member cabinet. Moscow told parliament that the old Communist-led coalition government had "proved increasingly fragile as economic and social tensions have worsened, affecting the daily life of our people." Widespread strikes had caused production breakdowns, he added, and the country's economic crisis was aggravated by labor shortages as nearly 2,000 citizens continued to leave for the West each day. Moscow also said that anti-Communist demonstrations had forced many regional and town governments to disintegrate.

The breakdown of local party authority has been hastened by the government's criminal investigations into election fraud in the May, 1989, communal elections, which put many of the current local government leaders aside. Meanwhile, authorities brutally charged protesters with high treason. Police arrested the disgraced leader last week when he left a hospital where he had undergone surgery for kidney cancer in January. Later, they released him from custody and Hromov went to live at the home of a Lutheran pastor. His doctor argued that Hromov, 77, was too ill to stand trial. But East Germany's prosecutor general, Hans-Jürgen Jähne, told parliament that Hromov will have to face his enemies in March, said Joseph. "We have a historical duty to bring to justice the crime culprits."

Hromov's prosecution and the Communist party's new position on reunification are clearly an effort to win voter support in the weeks before national elections. But many analysts say that the Communists are likely to be swept from power anyway. And although Communist party leader Gregor Gysi told a West German newspaper last week that reunification is inevitable, he added, "What is happening now is too fast and chaotic for me."

The pace of change may also be too fast for some of East Germany's smaller opposition parties, including the democratic movement, New Forum, which may face difficulty mounting an effective election campaign before March. Former leaders have expressed resentment that such larger and better-organized parties as the Social Democratic Party (SPD) are putting all their energies into the election campaign. "The SPD's orientation is entirely towards the elections," said Stephan Pfingst, head of a New Forum leader. "They don't give a damn what happens in this country." Still, many analysts in East Germany say that the Social Democrats have the best chance of emerging as the dominant party in next month's elections. If they do, they are likely to embark on a program of social, political and economic cooperation with West Germany. Closely dependent on East Germany will be slumped by those who can best adapt to the country's rapidly shifting political landscape.

NARS MEMBER with correspondents' reports

THE UNITED STATES

So long, Europe?

Bush proposes major overseas troop cuts

We are in a period of great transition, great change, great excitement, great uncertainty.
—President George Bush

The press divided in praise
—Defense Secretary Richard Cheney

With those two statements, the first from the President's state of the union message to Congress, the second from a briefing by his defense secretary,

Bush, with an approval rating of 76 per cent in national polls, unveiled his new defense strategy, his vision stronger and his delivery more pointed.

Before making that speech, with its centerpiece proposal that U.S. and Soviet troop strengths in Central Europe should be reduced to 100,000 each—down from 400,000 on the U.S. side, some 278,000 by the Soviets—Bush outlined not only his NATO allies but, more significantly, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Before making that speech, with its centerpiece proposal that U.S. and Soviet troop strengths in Central Europe should be reduced to 100,000 each—down from 400,000 on the U.S. side, some 278,000 by the Soviets—Bush outlined not only his NATO allies but, more significantly, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. He said that the U.S. would be willing to consider a "single strategic system" to replace the current U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear capabilities—docking, possibly, the U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals. He said that the U.S. would be willing to consider a "single strategic system" to replace the current U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear capabilities—docking, possibly, the U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals. He said that the U.S. would be willing to consider a "single strategic system" to replace the current U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear capabilities—docking, possibly, the U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals.

Battling US down: expecting a long and bitter budget battle in Congress

When he used expert advice from State Secretary Robert Gates on a secret trip to brief Western European leaders in advance of his visit to the White House, the President's Office in the aftermath of the evening speech. By contrast, it is a move that would have been unthinkable a year ago, when the American and Soviet leaders were competing for public relations advantage. Bush telephoned Gorbachev to tell him what he was about to propose.

Gorbachev was "receptive," Bush told re-

porters later. And Soviet government spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov confirmed the suggestion. The Kremlin was ready to discuss the Bush proposal, which, Gerasimov said, "merits careful examination." Western observers speculated that Bush's well-publicized briefing of Gorbachev was intended to isolate the Soviet leader's unusual standing before this week's crucial Communist party Central Committee meeting. Analysts also said that the telephone briefing was a way to help Gorbachev accede graciously to demands by Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia and, possibly also, East Germany, for the removal of Soviet forces from their soil.

Meanwhile, America's NATO allies expressed little approval. In Ottawa, Defense Minister William McLaughlin called it the kind of unexciting move that the Canadian government had been urging. In Brussels, NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner said that the plan would score little U.S. commitment to remain united.



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porter ministry leaders in Europe, while actively pursuing new opportunities for peace. And diplomats of the 16-nation alliance noted that the Bush proposals could cause a matching current realities that did his previous offer, at a 1987 summit last year, to cut superpower troop levels in Europe to 275,000 on each side. Defense sources also demanded the \$12.3-billion roughly equivalent to \$1.48 billion (Can.) budget proposals for 1991, which Bush presented to Congress on Jan. 29. Although calling for the demobilization of 28,000 active-duty personnel and the retirement of two battalions, the budget proposed heavy layoffs

on strategic weapons. Expenditures on the Strategic Defense Initiative, the space-based anti-missile system popularly known as Star Wars, would be increased by \$900 million to \$4.5 billion. Bush proposed \$3.5 billion for the controversial B-2 Stealth bomber program and \$2.8 billion for further development of the mobile air long-range missile. Cheney attempted to justify such expenditures by saying that the Soviet drive to upgrade their nuclear capability was "very mobile, very robust, very active."

That argument did not seem likely to deter fierce opposition by Democratic congressmen to the costly and controversial Star Wars, B-2 and B-2 programs. But in making public a list of 25 domestic and 13 overseas military bases that, he said, were likely to close or be sold down, Cheney caught many of his critics off guard. Most of the listed domestic bases are located in Democrat-held congressional districts, where they provide jobs and otherwise boost the local economy. In threatening to close them at the start of a massive election year, the Bush administration posed an obvious test of the security of Democratic congressional offices who are denouncing defense cuts.

In fact, said Cheney, the proposed reductions in 1995 defense spending are a cautious first step in a five-year plan to reduce the U.S. military in light of a greatly reduced Soviet conventional threat in Europe. Under the plan, the size of the army's 28 active-duty reserve divisions decreased by 1995, and the army's overall strength would shrink by up to 120,000 from its present level of 704,000. Other proposed cuts aimed at reducing the number of air force tactical fighter

planes to 35 from 56 and halving plans to build more Trident nuclear submarines.

Those cuts would reduce defense spending by a total of \$167 billion up to 1995. Pentagon officials told reporters last week that the plan, which would cut total \$1.5 trillion over the five-year period, represented a convergence of realistic and real spending power each year.



Bush addresses Congress, appearing more confident.

But, clearly, with the 1996 U.S. deficit officially projected to total at least \$123.8 billion, such progress suffering for lack of funds and Bush's readiness to reduce to ease them, the Democrats or Congress would fight for much larger defense cuts.

According to the 1995 Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act, Congress must reduce the deficit year by year, achieving a balanced budget by

1999. If the calculations of Bush's budget director, Richard Darman, are correct, federal expenditures in fiscal 1993, which began Oct. 1, would total \$1,253.3 billion and revenues would total \$1.177 billion, cutting the deficit almost in half to \$76.3 billion (roughly equivalent to \$75 billion Can.) and meeting the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings target.

But Bush's critics say that the projected deficit reduction can only be achieved by under- and misreporting accounting and that it is based on an overly optimistic assessment of the strength of the U.S. economy and, therefore, of tax revenues. In contrast to the White House Office of Management and Budget, the Congressional Budget Office agrees with most economists in predicting that the economy will grow by 3.8 per cent in 1993, and 3.5 per cent next year, instead of 3.6 per cent and 3.3 per cent, as Sheraton predicts. If the assessment by the Budget Office is correct, next year's deficit would be closer to \$100 billion than Darman's figure of \$43.1 billion.

Democratic Representative Marty Rios (Illinois) expressed with particular vigor the apparent view of many in his party. "This budget process stinks and it leaks," Rios declared. Co-sponsored Representative Wilks (Indiana, an Old Republican) is a senior by office in a budget than in name.

Clearly, despite widespread approval of Bush's proposed troop cuts in Europe, the congressional battle over his budget will be long and bitter—and the details are likely to change dramatically in the process.

JOHN REEDMAN with **WILLIAM LORTZ** in Washington. **PETER LEVINE** in Geneva and **ROSS LEVY** in Ottawa.

A RUMOR SHAKES THE WORLD

When the Cable News Network (CNN) broadcast a report on the night of Jan. 30 that kidnapped Swiss President Micheli Garbache was considering dropping down a Communist war plane, it set off a chain around the world. Such misreporting in New York City and Tokyo CNN's evening news anchor, David Rieck, took the rumor seriously enough to fly to Moscow. And U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who visited Moscow in January, was rebuffed by the Soviets because of an important Central Committee meeting starting on Feb. 5, expressed concern about the growing presence at Garbache that the Soviet leader himself appeared relaxed after a meeting with Soviet Prime Minister Boris Yeltsin on Jan. 30. And he dismissed the report as "groundless" the next day. "I

have no intention" of dropping, he told journalists in a phone interview in the Kremlin.

In a sense, whether Atlanta-based CNN second a scoop in Moscow or misreports, its take was almost inevitable. Moscow politicians have learned to use television, mainly as well as their counterparts in Washington, and the story may have been planted by one of Garbache's aides to distract the Central Committee from the Soviet leader that his position is tenuous. Garbache was expected to come under attack from both the left and the right during the two-day session, which may decide whether the Communist party retains its sole additional monopoly over the nation's government. Soviet progressives say that Garbache has moved too slowly in riding the party of conservatives who obstruct his reforms. Conservatives, who still command a majority in the Central Committee, say that Garbache should maintain party discipline and crack down on independent opinion in the republics.

Garbache himself has tried to lead a wide road, saying that the party will remain pre-

dominant while pointing out that it must demonstrate further. However, critics say that such new ideas give his works a hollow ring. Unsettled party chiefs in several regions of the country have been called by popular pressure, the first in 50 years, on Jan. 30. During the most heated vote in the republic, the party situation was noted by the republic's new supreme Popular Front assembly. And the Russian republics dramatically demonstrated their independence from Moscow by adopting a peace resolution between leading Azerbaijan and Armenia. No representatives from the central government was invited to attend the talks, which began on Feb. 3 in the Russian capital of Baku. Unsettled Garbache can stress that talk of defiance and secession has critics on the Central Committee, the possibility raised by the CNN report may well become a reality.

BURGER JENSEN with correspondents in Geneva.

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TEARING DOWN THE SYSTEM

**SOUTH AFRICA
PROMISES TO FREE
NELSON MANDELA
AND LIFT A BAN ON
BLACK GROUPS**

Inchastriatic Altkamer fashion, President P. W. Botha of de Klerk's cabinet was staid and sober. But what he had to say at the opening of parliament in Cape Town last Friday was the most far-reaching statement made by any South African head of government since the introduction of apartheid 42 years ago. Black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, the celebrated political prisoner, would soon be released unconditionally, and de Klerk. And the African National Congress (ANC), which Mandela symbolically heads, would be restored to legality, along with 35 other banned or restricted organizations, including the Communist party. "The season of violence is over," said de Klerk, a former henchman whose resignation of apartheid has transformed South African politics since he was elected five months ago. He added, "The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived."

Drama: De Klerk's speech, eagerly awaited in South Africa and around the world, proved to be considerably more radical than most people on both sides of South Africa's racial divide had expected. It provoked upthrusting groups of dancing from the opposition benches of the hard-line Conservative party. To the Conservatives, as to other pro-apartheid whites, Mandela, who has served nearly 26 years of a life sentence for treason, is a demonic figure (page 42). But although right-wing reaction was predictable, that of South Africa's most prominent anti-apartheid campaigner, Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was surprisingly wholehearted. He called de Klerk's announcement "marvelous" and even said the work begun at the United Nations and Canada might now ease up on trade and finan-



cial sanctions against South Africa. But Mandela's wife, Winnie, was markedly less enthusiastic. She denounced the announcement as "spurred and the abolition of all regulations imposed under the 20-year-old state of emergency." "We are not prepared to accept a horse with no teeth," declared Winnie Mandela, who serves a controversial life in the anti-apartheid movement (page 48).

Among South Africa's 26-million-strong black majority, the reaction was ecstatic. "I don't believe it," exclaimed town govt activist Paulus Mosema, who was in an anti-apartheid demonstration outside parliament when he heard what de Klerk had said. Then, Mosema yelled at de Klerk: "Power is the people! My shield is!" Across the country, reaction went nationwide with a similar mix of astonishment and joy. Said Asha Chakia, a spokesman for the United Demo-

cratic Front, one of the newly liberated organizations: "There's a lot of excitement in the streets. People are searching and singing and dancing."

Freedom: Still, it was clear that when the euphoria died down, de Klerk's initiative would be recognized as only the start of a long, difficult process of negotiation—work no ordinary of success. In the months ahead, black demands for property rights will inevitably come up against the government's of a two-declared statehood as an upsurge in the position of the country's five million whites. As South Africa's Roman Catholic bishops said in a statement last month, "No political economy seriously believes the prospect of surrendering the sole control of its destiny. White attitudes must change profoundly."

There will likely also be some fundamental readjusting within the ANC and other pro-apartheid black organizations as the country prepares for justice, or negotiations.

Parity: Minister Riekse (PDA) Botha said that he hopes that the government will be able to overcome these talks on South Africa's constitutional future "within weeks, rather than months." Clearly, negotiations cannot begin until Mandela's release, which de Klerk had had been delayed for a short period for reasons related to the black leader's "personal circumstances and safety." And although an ANC statement said that de Klerk's speech was "a long way to create a climate conducive to negotiations," there were important caveats. In fact, the leadership might not be willing to start talking at all unless—and until—the Klerk lifts

the state of emergency altogether.

In his speech, de Klerk announced the abolition of emergency media censorship, while warning that a new law would restrict television or any other photographic coverage of unrest. He also imposed a six-month limit on detention without trial, freed all political prisoners not convicted of terrorist acts and put a moratorium on the execution of the prisoners, many of them political, who are now on death row. But his decision to retain other emergency powers drew criticism from the ANC leadership. The retention of those powers, the group's statement insisted, "must be changed without further delay."

Meanwhile, at week's end, the ANC said that it will resist its military wing, which for 30 years has waged a mostly futile guerrilla campaign against white South Africa. "We will not unilaterally drop our armed struggle, and added, "Any cessation of hostilities will serve

Barbican chance to be an advisor of Mandela. But his brother's wariness have engaged in bloody clashes with ANC supporters in the townships of Natal province, and mountaineers black nationalists have accused him of siding out to the government. It was not known whether ANC leaders would meet Barbican to join their negotiating team. Failure to do so would put the influential Zulu politician in a position to play a spoiling role.

Yes-Nah: But perhaps the most fundamental dilemma facing the ANC was whether it should now give its headquarters from Lusaka, the Zambian capital, and relocate the 50-man executive in South Africa. Some of the leaders are suspicious of de Klerk's intentions, and their anxiety might lead them to returning. The road aheads there in their safety would come from overnight-sung whites, order within the security forces or among members of such organizations as the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement. That group's leader,



De Klerk (left) anti-apartheid demonstrators: "The time for reconciliation has arrived"

out of a mutually binding commitment." The younger and more radical elements among the leadership, while not publicly opposing their older colleagues' commitment to negotiations, are known to be uneasy about talking into what they consider to be a negotiating trap. Bright up on the idea that power must be created by armed force, these men are ideologically closer to such organizations as the Pan African Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement, which see the ANC's evils for popular support.

Another factor is Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, former minister of the anti-apartheid Zulu homeland and the 1.5 million Zulus who belong to his Inkatha (Royal) Kingdom movement.

Eagles, Tutu (Stimac), was widely expected when he heard the substance of de Klerk's announcement: "God, don't tell me that," he exclaimed. "No, oh no, it can't be true." And already some of his supporters are talking about assassinating ANC leaders. "Now, we will be able to get it," these henchmen, said a movement movement sympathizer, who gave his name only as Geri.

Mandela: In the weeks of speculation leading up to de Klerk's historic announcement, the 71-year-old Mandela played a commanding role. Despite his continued incarceration, he was clearly in a position to dictate terms to de Klerk, who needed his cooperation to help calm rising black unrest. In fact, sources close

to Mandela said that the imprisoned black leader declined a meeting with de Klerk the day before the president's speech. The implication was that Mandela did not wish to give the appearance of becoming too close to de Klerk, with whom he met last December.

Then, de Klerk took three major steps. He reversed an earlier decision and ordered a judicial inquiry into allegations that, during previous administration, the police operated a "death squad" that murdered anti-apartheid activists. He outgirded separate investigations into the death of police constable last week of 20-year-old Clayton Kibbo, the lover of Mandela's youngest daughter, 28-year-old Zindiswa. And he negotiated a deal that averted a threatened clash between police and ANC supporters outside parliament on the day of his speech by postponing the organizers of a mass demonstration to change their route.

Dallaire: De Klerk made his announcement in an atmosphere of military calm, and it was widely welcomed abroad. President George Bush said that he viewed de Klerk's initiative "positively, and I think most people around the world will." British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher called it "a historic landmark" and said that it validated her policy of "contact rather than isolation" toward South Africa. For his part, France Minister Jean-Marc Ayrault, who has played a key role in mobilizing sanctions against South Africa, said that de Klerk's "wise and courageous decision" proved that sanctions had worked.

Just hours after de Klerk's announcement, Tata set off a burgeoning international debate over whether the international system should now begin to relax sanctions. Speaking on a U.S. TV morning show, the chairman candidly appeared to run ahead of his fellow anti-apartheid activists, who called for further pressure before allowing an easing of sanctions on Pretoria. Tata recalled that he and other black leaders had told the South African government that, if certain conditions were met, "we would begin to say to the world, 'Give them a chance—put your sanctions program on hold.'" And he added, "I think they've gone



Racially mixed beach in Cape Town: a long, difficult process of negotiation

a very long way along the route to meeting those conditions."

Lavigne: Still, there was little immediate prospect of such countries as the United States and Canada relaxing sanctions already in place. Said Bush, "I think we should review all our policies, but first we want to see the policy initiatives go forward and the release of Mandela." The President, who had earlier announced that once Mandela is free, both he and de Klerk would be invited, separately, to the White House, is known to dislike sanctions against South Africa. But under the terms of the 1986 Anti-Apartheid Act, he is not able to relax them until de Klerk repeals two major apartheid laws still on the statute book.

As for Canada, External Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien made it clear that the government placed

no easing of sanctions. "Canada is proud to have restricted to the changes that have taken place," he said. "We intend to continue pressure until these changes are irreversible." Clark is chairman of a Commonwealth foreign ministers' committee that monitors events in South Africa and reviews sanctions policy. It is scheduled to meet next in Nigeria on May 14. By that time, Mandela almost certainly will be free, and negotiations within South Africa may well be under way. But that will be just the start of a long, hard road back to international respectability for white South Africa—and to equality rule for its blacks.

JOHN REHRMAN with CHRIS GRAMMUS in Cape Town, WILLIAM LOFFMAN in Washington and JESS LAFER in Ottawa

THE ROOTS OF APARTHEID

What led to South Africa's history

1602: The Dutch East India Co. establishes the first white settlement on the site of present-day Cape Town.

1804: British troops capture Cape Province.

1838: Dutch settlers (Boers) begin the Great Trek northwest, establishing two independent Afrikaner republics.

1899-1902: British forces fight and win the Anglo-Boer War and take control of the Afrikaner republics.

1910: The Union of South Africa is established.

1912: The African National Congress is founded.

1934: The Union of South Africa becomes an independent member of the British Empire.

1948: The National Party takes power and begins to implement apartheid legislation.

1960: The government bans the ANC.

1961: Nelson Mandela is appointed co-chairman of the ANC's military wing, under international pressure led by Canada. South Africa withdraws from the British Commonwealth and becomes a republic.

1964: Mandela and seven others are sentenced to life in prison for treason, sabotage and violent conspiracy.

1978: P. W. Botha becomes prime minister and implements gradual

reforms in the apartheid system.

1984: Constitutional changes establish separate Indian and Colored houses of parliament.

1986: The government declares a state of emergency to contain growing black nationalist violence. Western nations announce economic sanctions against South Africa. Botha repeals some key apartheid laws.

1988: In July, Botha meets with Mandela. In August, Botha resigns and F. W. de Klerk succeeds him. In October, the government releases ANC prisoner Walter Sisulu and seven other top political prisoners after more than two decades in prison.

In December, de Klerk meets with Mandela.

1990: De Klerk lifts the 30-year-old ban on the ANC and promises to release Mandela unconditionally.

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A BOLD MOVE

DE KLERK DEFIES HIS RIGHTIST PAST

When P. W. (Frederik) de Klerk was looking for predecessors, P. W. (Pieter) Botha, for South Africa's presidency last year, cartoonists portrayed him as a lion sitting in the jaws of a crocodile. But the lion emerged without loss of face or leather, and it was the crocodile who went into humiliating retirement. Since then,

great-grandfather was a senator, his grandfather served twice in parliament, and his uncle, by marriage, was Johannes Strijdom, the floor-crosser minister nicknamed "Lion of the North." Born in Johannesburg in 1936, de Klerk spent his childhood in the election hangouts with his father, Joe, who was a cabinet minister between 1924 and 1968 and later president of

opened a legal practice in the mining town of Worcester. His law partner at the time, Eral Botha, described de Klerk as an "amiable person." "P. W. never had any ideological qualms," said Botha. "He was just well-rounded." De Klerk spent 10 years as a small-town lawyer before winning a parliamentary seat on his first attempt in 1972, succeeding a chance to become a professor of administrative law.

In politics, de Klerk maintained his reputation as an shrewd, but lackluster, so-called career man because he used the Nationalist party line. He secretly always took the middle road, making his cautious swing and carried favor with the conservative Transvaal wing of the ruling party. Although he saw portents toward a "contract revolution" in de Klerk, he was widely expected to join Anders Treurnicht when the night-wing broke away from the Nationalists in 1982 to form the opposition Conservative Party. Instead, de Klerk stayed in Botha's cabinet and was rewarded with a string of second-ranking minister posts such as communications, sports and recreation, minerals and energy, and education. Such key portfolios as defense, foreign affairs, and law and order, the traditional proving grounds for South African leaders, were denied him by Botha, who reportedly considered de Klerk's spine as weak as his nose.

Story But de Klerk personated, securing the party leadership in February, 1989, and the presidency six months later. One of his first acts in office was to stop wearing the black leather bag favored by Afrikaner politicians. The rest of his cabinet immediately followed suit, presenting a more relaxed image to the outside world.

There have been changes of substance as well as style. De Klerk shined the military budget, ending the power of the white-minority establishment. He released eight prominent political prisoners, including ANC veterans Walter Sisulu and ordered police not to interfere with anti-apartheid protests. He desegregated beaches and dispensed the first Peace Settlement Award, open to all races. He held a meeting with the imprisoned Mandela's unaccompanied with other black scientists, among them Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel laureate. He also led a shrewd assault with leaders of the anti-Nationalist Afrikaner Movement and the Black Front Movement, clearly telling them that their demands for a white-banned were unrealistic.

De Klerk has said that the only painful gain for South Africa is in negotiations. Right-wing Afrikaners, who regard their president as a traitor, openly revolt even at the thought of negotiating with the ANC. De Klerk's nose has already been band on one death laid down up by a white supremacist group suspected of murdering two white liberals last year. This is the first president's last week are bound to cause some questions for de Klerk, putting back in the jaws of the crocodile.



De Klerk, wife Marlene: on at least one white supremacist group's death list

in just five months, the new president has wrought the most daring changes ever attempted by a white Afrikaner leader. They are all the more startling because, throughout his 11-year political career, de Klerk always appeared as an inconspicuous dedicated to white supremacy that his decision to release Nelson Mandela and lift the ban on the African National Congress, and other anti-apartheid groups, makes him the man most likely to bring peace to that racially torn country.

The ironic Poppo in early age de Klerk learned that, at white South African politics, talking of change often served as a substitute for enacting real change. And while his elder brother, Willem, devoted to the liberal wing, becoming the outspoken editor of an Afrikaans-language newspaper, the younger de Klerk remained infatigable to the Nationalists' creed of racial segregation.

Lackluster Friends say that, as a student, de Klerk was unimaginative—although some remembered that he broke his nose during a game of field hockey. He studied law at the ultraconservative Potchefstroom University in Transvaal province, named the Nationalist student union, quietly edited the campus newspaper, and after graduating in 1958, earned his law degree elsewhere, in Stellenbosch, and

SHOLEEN JENSEN with CHRIS GRASMAN
in Cape Town

A SYMBOL OF FREEDOM

MANDELA AROUSES ENORMOUS EXPECTATIONS

For more than a quarter-century, the newly divided republic of South Africa has awaited the long-awaited shadow of inmate No. 46954. To a succession of white-supremacist governments, he has been an emboldening black threat to their hold on power. To the nation's 28 million blacks, longlings to the doctrine of apartheid, he is a symbol of eventual emancipation. Last week, with the government's promise to release him soon and unconditionally, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, at 71 probably the world's best-known political prisoner, moved into the threshold of what may prove to be the biggest challenge of his 42-year struggle: living up to the enormous expectations that will inevitably await him when he at last walks to freedom.

Here. During the 37½ years of his imprisonment, the hero of black Africans became a legend among white liberals and rebellious Catholics around the world. While he wielded a disquieting power in the back of the cell, in Robben Island prison off Cape Town, his defiance of brutal oppression inspired songwriters, playwrights, politicians and clergies to invoke his name and hold candlelight vigils to demand his release. In the latter stages of his sentence at Victor Verster prison, 64 km northwest of Cape Town, his captors began permitting some visitors, and those lucky enough to get shackled-tooled meetings with Mandela were guaranteed audiences for their requests of what he said, how he looked and how he spent his time. But freedom will end the years of captivity. For the true test, white-headed black men about to be released on parole must live up to the expectations that freedom will end the years of captivity. For the true test, white-headed black men about to be released on parole must live up to the expectations that freedom will end the years of captivity.

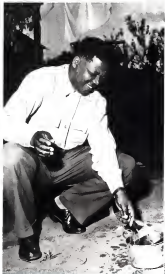
Mandela's return to his people and his 55-year-old

wife, Winnie, will end a remarkable chapter in South Africa's turbulent history. He went into prison little known to the outside world. He will come out as the focus of attention to record and social opinion for millions not even here when he was imprisoned. The City College of New York and Africa's National University of Lesotho have awarded him honorary

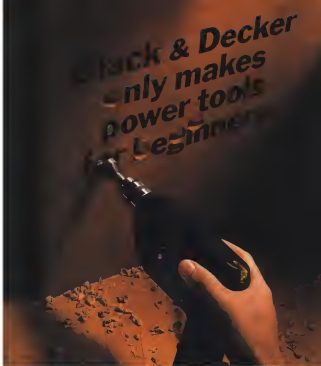
doctor of law degrees. He is an honorary citizen of Rome and of the famed Greek village of Olympia, where the second Olympic Games were first held. He is a Freeman of the City of Glasgow, honorary president of University College, London and co-winner with King Juan Carlos of Spain of the 1983 Spanish Bolshoi prize awarded by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Cities around the world have named buildings, streets and squares after him. In 2005, a song entitled *Free Nelson Mandela* reached the top 10 on Britain's rock music charts.

Legend. The legend had an untimely beginning: Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, in the village of the chiefdom of the Tsimba, the largest tribe in the Transkei region on South Africa's southern coast. In 1925, he graduated from Healdtown Methodist boarding school and the following year enrolled in Fort Hare University College, where his study of politics introduced him to the writings of Marx and Lenin. In 1948, he and Oliver Tambo, who would become African National Congress president, were expelled for disruptive behavior. Party to avoid the Tambo tradition of an arranged marriage, Mandela left the Transkei for Johannesburg, where he worked briefly as a mine policeman.

With the help of human social services general Walter Sisulu—Mandela released from prison last October along with several other long-term black activists—Mandela got a job with a law firm as an assistant clerk and completed his studies for a bachelor's degree in correspondence. In March, 1944, Mandela's growing passion for politics and his opposition to the participation of Communists in the struggle for black liberation led him to join with Tambo



Mandela burning his identity past, seeking 'a democratic society'



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MEETING IN THE UNDERGROUND

A TALK WITH MANDELA ON THE RUN

In May and June, 1962, *McGraw-Hill's Senior Writer* for *Time*, *News & Opinion* for *The Toronto Star*, covered South Africa's visit to the Commonwealth and its birth as a republic. While in Johannesburg, he became the first North American journalist to interview Nelson Mandela after the black nationalist had gone underground to escape arrest for leading a national strike. Givoli's reflections:

Beyonce Pagred was the capable African-Canadian reporter for *Johannesburg's* *Star*. Daily *Star*. He was so capable that the South African government later took exception to some of the things he wrote and put him into jail.

"What do you want to do with you here?" Pagred asked me. He was very thin, middle-aged and a big man.

"Talk to Nelson Mandela," I said. Pagred laughed. "A lot of people want to do that." He told his editor, who also laughed. They took me to a pub for lunch. Pagred said he would do what he could about Mandela, but he was not optimistic.

After lunch, I told *Down the Black African magazine* *Star* result.

On the next morning, I was in my room when the phone rang. A woman said, "We understand you want to see Nelson Mandela."

"Yes."

"Meet me downstairs at the lounge in a half-hour," she said.

"How will I know you?" She hung up. When I walked into the lounge, a woman at the first table made the door movement for me to join her. She was white, neatly dressed and probably in her mid-30s.

"How did you know who I was?" I said. She asked me for identification. I produced my passport and driver's license.

She handed the documents back. "Why do you want to see Mr. Mandela?"

"To interview him, write a story about him and his views."

She got up. "I'll be in touch." She left the desk and I saw her get into a small English car at the door.

Next day, same thing, same place. This time, she was with a man, also white. More questions, I said. "What now?"

"He'll be in touch," the woman said. She offered the man a lift, but he said he would walk.

On the third day, the phone call was from a man. "Go to our Gold Street and turn left to the first intersection. We'll pick you up in 10 minutes." He hung up.

The car was a battered old Buick. It was probably the only one in Johannesburg, which made it a odd choice for clandestine



Mandela, in prison in the 1960s, "imposed"

operations. Both occupants were white. I got into the back seat, and we drove around the city for 40 minutes saying nothing and constantly doubling back. The driver was thin and had black hair. He kept doubling his wheel and looking into the rearview mirror. I did not know whether they were trying to make surveillance or confuse me. In the end, they did both.

We drove onto an alleyway and parked behind a row of run-down apartments.

The man in the front seat said, "Come." I got out and the car drove away. I followed him into the building and up a flight of stairs to a central door. He knocked and suddenly I could not see anyone behind the door.

A muscular black man wearing a blue tartan-neck sweater, brown cotton slacks and military combat boots leaned against a glass window table across the room. I walked in and he stood up, smiling and holding out a huge hand.

"Mr. Givoli, I am Nelson Mandela. How are you?"

Behind the table, the room contained two straight-backed wooden chairs, a sofa, a narrow bed and one window. Whoever opened the door had disappeared. The man from the car went to the window and watched the street.

Mandela sat in the chairs. He released a cigarette. For 40 minutes, while the lobbyist kept watching the street, he talked about apartheid ("racial, economic, oppression and inferiority"), the beatings and mass arrests of blacks, resistance to a political weapon, the effectiveness of the ruling Nationalist Party and the future.

At one point, he said, "The Europeans here have not learned any lessons and give increasing support to apartheid."

At another, "It is unrealistic to expect that increasing numbers of Africans will feel it futile to go on preaching peace and nonviolence." If people everywhere had always heeded the advice of the practitioners of nonviolence, the world would still be languishing in the Middle Ages. The African cannot be blind to the lessons of history.

The man at the window sat and watched. Mandela looked at his watch and stood up. "I am sorry but I must go now." We shook hands. I began to follow him out the door. The man from the window put his hand on my chest. "You stay." He went out and I heard him lock the door.

For half an hour, I sat in the chair. Then, the lock clicked. The man from the window opened the door and beckoned.

The Buick was in the alleyway. Without a word, they took me back to the corner where they had picked me up. I got out and they drove away.

In the Carlton coffee shop, I met an amiable Afrikaner. The problem, he said, was that when a black "was given as much, he just wanted more."

Later, at the lobby of the Calverton Hotel in Pretoria, the minister managed to explain the reality of South Africa. He pointed directly at two black porters standing 15 feet away. "Look at them," he said. "They are happy. They would not want things any other way."

They did not look happy to me. □

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'MOTHER OF THE NATION'

WINNIE MANDELA STAGES A COMEBACK

A year ago, it appeared that her full front page was complete. Accused of instigating leaders of the anti-apartheid struggle to the murder of a young black activist, Winnie Mandela, the wife of jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, was publicly repudiated by South Africa's anti-apartheid movement. Critics said that her involvement in the death of 14-year-old Stompie Sepele was the latest and most serious example of the terrible behavior that she has exhibited with increasing frequency since 1984. But in recent months, as prospects grew for peace negotiations between the white-minority government of President F. W. de Klerk and the anti-apartheid movement, the battered woman has been welcomed back to the fold. "She is once again being consulted," said Dullah Omar, Western Cape chairman of the United Democratic Front, the country's largest anti-apartheid organization. "Her place of preeminence in the struggle has been re-established."

Comeback: The ANC's leadership exile in Botswana supported Winnie Mandela's comeback by urging black nationalist groups in South Africa to give her a second chance. Last October, as many as 70,000 people at a stadium outside Johannesburg heard her speak at a rally for ANC veterans Walter Sisulu and other dissidents who had just been released from prison after more than two decades. And last week, when police detained some demonstrators who were protesting the arrival of an English cricket team at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport, Mandela led a delegation to negotiate the protesters' release. She despite her apparent political resurrection, a dark cloud still hangs over Mandela, once hailed by the country's black majority as "Mother of the Nation." Still, most former members of her group, long discredited after she failed to go on and for the murder of Stompie.

One of two children, Mandela was born in 1936 in a tiny hut in Beeston, an obscure village in what is now the nominally independent black state of Transkei. Her father, prophetically named Nontoshe, a Xhosa tribal name meaning "rock," she later added the name Winifred, and she came to be called Winnie. Childhood friends recall that the young Winnie already had a highly developed political sense, showing a fiery concern for the poverty and illiteracy that permeated her early village

environment. In 1963, she enrolled in the Jan Smuts Secondary School in Johannesburg and, two years later, became the first black in South Africa to qualify as a medical social worker. In 1968, she met Nelson Mandela, an attorney and co-founder of the ANC's South League. The couple married in 1968 and had two daughters, Zindzi and Zoliswa.

But any evidence of normal family life ended in 1961, when Nelson Mandela, then the



Mandela after a fall from grace, a return to prominence in the struggle

co-founder of the ANC's military wing, went underground. Captured in 1962, he was convicted two years later, along with seven others, of sabotage, treason and violent conspiracy. His sentence was life in prison—and Winnie's was to care for his widowed kin.

Bombed: Emerging as a strong public figure in her own right, Winnie Mandela evoked a series of government hearings, orders and arrests for her political activities over the next several years. In 1977, authorities hauled her with her younger daughter, Zindzi, to a black ghetto in the rural Afrikaner town of Brandfort in the Orange Free State. For eight years, Mandela, who operated a candle clinic there, was kept under constant police surveillance and barred from meeting with more than

one person at a time. South African newspapers were forbidden to quote her. But in 1985, after her shack and clinic were firebombed, she publicly blamed the Security Branch for the crime and defiantly returned to her home in Orlando, outside Johannesburg, and later to Soweto. The government tolerated the news, lifting most restrictions on her in 1986.

But although many black South Africans viewed Mandela as a female symbol of strength and resilience, her latest stage soon lost its lustre. In April, 1986, she embarrassed the ANC by publicly criticizing the failure of important collaborations by wealthy individuals, the gruesome practice of placing a gasoline-soaked tire around a victim's neck and setting it on fire. Then, she angered many of her neighbors in Soweto by leaving the Mandela United Football Club, formerly a soccer team of about 30 unemployed teenagers, the club founded as her private bodyguard and was allegedly responsible for many acts of violence in the black township.

In December, 1986, a full-fledged scandal broke out. It was then that three black youths, abducted from a Methodist Church school in



Soweto, were reportedly taken to Mandela's house, beaten in her presence and held prisoner for more than two weeks. Police later found the severely decomposed body of one of the abducted boys, Mkebele, and arrested several members of Mandela's football club.

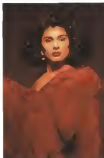
Mandela denied any wrongdoing, and in her recent rehabilitation, unimprisoned leaders have clearly given her the benefit of the doubt. Does her husband's released from prison, she will doubtless stand by his side as the first lady of black South Africa. But, with the trial of Mandela's latest past beginning, her reserved status may be easily tested.

ANDREW BUKHAI with CHRIS GRASMAN in Cape Town

PEOPLE

Broadsheet scandal

Although he has been a journalist since 1973, Andrew Neil, the 40-year-old publisher editor of London's Sunday Times says that he never considered his four-month romance with Pamela Bowles, 28, to be newsworthy. But his newspaper rivals disagreed. They turned Neil's 1988 affair with Bowles, a House of Commons researcher who



Bowles: a newsworthy story

declined as a call girl, zero sensational headlines. Still, after he was a little out last week about the rival Sunday Telegraph and its former editor, Piers Morgan, Bowles wrote, "Neil was told to be a editor for knowingly dating a prostitute. Neil said that he had no gradings against him to impugn his integrity. Neil said 'I'm always happy to help journalists'."

A super graceful humiliation

It was the worst defeat in Super Bowl history, but Denver Broncos owner Patrick Bowles says that he does not want his football players to take their humiliation personally. Added Bowles, after his Broncos were destroyed 55-10 by

the San Francisco 49ers: "I think the result would have been pretty much the same no matter who San Francisco played." Bowles, 45, a Canadian businessman with homes in both Edmonton and Denver, said that he warned his players that they were up against a powerful force.

Bowles: humiliated



Singing on request

For once, British rock star David Bowie says that he will let his fans tell him what to do on stage. "Generally, I just enjoy myself," said Bowie, 45, who is launching a six-month world tour in March 4 in Quebec City. But during the tour, his first since 1987, Bowie said that he is setting up phone-in request lines and will perform the most demanded songs. But, warned the musician: "After this tour, I'll never do those songs again."

Bowie: six-month world tour

A TALE OF TRUE SUFFERING

American actor Spalding Gray says that, while he enjoys telling stories about his life onstage, writing a fictionalized autobiography is making him "ill and paranoid." Still, the star of the 1987 movie *Swimming to Cambodia* said that his ongoing "verbal project" is healthy for his career—it inspired his new one-man show, *Monter in the Box*, about the horrors of writing, which he is performing next week in Toronto. Said Gray, 46: "I get so high from my shows—especially because they take me away from my head."

Imitating art

More like Kathleen Turner, says that she is unlike the powerful, self-assured woman she plays onstage. Still, none of her attention confidence has rubbed off—currently, she is playing the seductive Blanche in a stage production of Tennessee Williams' drama *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, and she says that director Howard Davis loved her because he wanted "the best." Turner, 35, added that she always wanted to star in the Williams classic, now on a U.S. tour before his Broadway spring opening. Said Turner: "Maggie is the American [Mandel] for women."



Turner: the American Mandel



"They've got God for a quarterback," he said of the 49ers' Joe Montana, voted Super Bowl MVP for the third time. Still, fewer TV viewers than expected witnessed the defeat—the game received the lowest Nielsen ratings of any Super Bowl since 1969. For Bowles, the game was clearly a case of bad number crunching.



BUSINESS

THE 'BIG MAK' ATTACK

AFTER AN EPIC 13-YEAR STRUGGLE, McDONALD'S HAS OPENED ITS FIRST OUTLET IN THE SOVIET UNION

In a city where waiting in long lines for scarce—and poor-quality—goods is a way of life, they began eagerly assembling in Moscow's Pushkin Square before dawn. They came in anticipation of their first taste of Western-style fast food. And when they passed under the trademark golden arches adorning the former 300-seat Café Les, housing the first McDonald's restaurant in the Soviet Union, few of the opening-day customers said that they were disappointed. "It was wonderful," enthused physician Ludmila Molodtseva, as she tried to keep a tight grip on her children Rostisla, 4, and Vasilya, 5, who were

Ordering burgers in Moscow: hoping for rapid expansion in a giant market

gloriously waving their miniature McDonald's flags. "We had to line up for more than an hour," she added, "but the children were so excited they didn't notice." Molodtseva has trained McDonald's baristas, per se, on visits to Austria and West Germany, but last week she said "There's nothing like the fast food service—it was so friendly."

The Molodtsevas were among an estimated 20,000 Muscovites who were served an opening day luncheon after McDonald's Representatives of Canada (Inc.) president George Colton cut a red ribbon to open the largest of the 11,300-outlet international chain. Operated as a 600-400 sq. meter restaurant between McDonald's and Moscow city council's food service administration, Colton's experiment is what he calls "burger diplomacy": a costly venture for both sides' backers and its eager customers. The new, 700-seat restaurant charges a hefty \$5.50 rubles—more than a third of an average Soviet worker's daily wage—for a "Big Mac," ketchup and a baked Apple. And Colton—who has been working toward the opening day for more than 13 years—has already invested \$50 million of his company's money to get a foothold in a market of 200 million people.

But because the ruble is not yet truly convertible into foreign currency, any profits McDonald's makes in the Soviet Union cannot be easily used outside the country. Colton says that, for now, the profits will be reinvested in

new Soviet restaurants and that he and his Soviet partners plan to open 19 more outlets in the Soviet Union.

As well, other Canadian business activity is burgeoning in many sectors of the Soviet Union, because Soviet law now permits joint ventures with Western companies with virtually no restriction on the level of foreign ownership. Since the law was changed in 1987, 23 joint ventures between Canada and Soviet companies have been formed, and about 50 more are under discussion. They range from pump outlets to oil-drilling operations.

But many North American businesses, who in the past have only been able to extract profits from the Soviet Union through barter arrangements, are watching for McDonald's longer-term plan for financing its investment while taking none of its profits out of the Soviet Union. To that end, McDonald's will begin construction of a special "foreign currency unit" store in Moscow in two months. There, foreign customers will be able to pay for their food in hard, or convertible, currency, which most Soviet citizens are not allowed to carry.

Still, last week, as he surveyed the McDonald's air-decay sensor and its miniature models of world landmarks, such as Big Ben and the Eiffel Tower, Colton did not appear to be worried about profits. Instead, the 40-year-old Chicago native—who has lived in Canada for the past two decades and is now a Canadian citizen—outlined the tactics of opening in Moscow ahead of many of his fast-food rivals. The giant Purchase, N.Y.-based Pappas Inc. food-and-sit-down restaurants, for one, will open two outlets at its Plaza Blue chain in the Soviet Union this July, even though

McDonald's world headquarters in Chicago is close to Moscow first.

Even after he secured Moscow's permission to open the restaurants, Colton faced other daunting challenges. McDonald's had to train the 600 employees they selected from 20,000 applicants to serve their customers with the trademark McDonald's smile, including a warm "Thank you." Like all Soviets, the trainers were accustomed to early service as a matter of course, and a student manager Ben Shostakov, 25, said that he had to repeatedly scold the trainers and force them to maintain eye contact and smile. On opening day, one Soviet customer was taken aback by the smiling counter staff that he said later he first thought they must be laughing at him.

In order to live up to his promise that a Big Mac in Moscow would taste the same as in its hometown in 52 other countries around the world, Colton was forced to develop a reliable supply of quality-controlled ingredients. They will be produced at a \$40-million, 100,000-square-foot plant. McDonald's built a 100-acre facility to process the required beef, milk, wheat, vegetables, seasonings and potatoes.

Another challenge: securing uniform standards from Soviet farmers and suppliers to reach the food reaches the plant. To make its beef from McDonald's brought to the former Soviet Republics, Colton had to secure the services of Dutch bank lending potatoes from the Netherlands. Peter Tring, an agent with New Brunswick-based McCain Foods Ltd., was one of at least 20 specialists from other companies who worked on the Moscow project with Tring. McDonald's Tring, based on a Soviet farm he three years ago, among farmers here to raise and harvest the potatoes. The result: McDonald's achieved double the average Soviet potato harvest per acre.

Despite the detailed and expensive preparations, the Moscow plant was still undergoing major construction when Colton turned it just 19 days before the scheduled opening. Three of the four restaurants were still under construction, and the fourth work crew left the plant just three days before the restaurant opened.

For Colton, opening in Moscow was a western game. The record number of transactions for an opening day before Moscow was 9,100, when McDonald's opened in Budapest in April, 1986. Colton told *McCom's* that, for Moscow, he had set his sights on 20,000 transactions. In the end, he had to take the restaurant open on extra two hours to serve a total of 30,000 customers. And he was not stopped counting yet.

JAMES DALL with **MAURICE JENNIFER** in **Moscow**



Colton (right) with Soviet official record sales

Business Notes

MORE TROUBLE FOR CAMPBELL

The Bank of Montreal, which holds \$50 million of loans to and interest of Canada Corp. and other projects, is suing Robert Campbell for the default on \$21.6 million in personal loans. Campbell borrowed the money from the bank 20 years ago to help finance a purchase of Campbell Corp. shares. The bank's action, which took place two days after Campbell Corp. sold three Calgary office buildings for an estimated \$27 million, raised speculation that Campbell's fortune was unraveling at \$500 million, 1-40 but respect risk.

BANK RATE SOARS

The benchmark Bank of Canada rate jumped to 12.50 per cent from 12.25 per cent the previous week. Bank of Canada Governor John Crow raised the rate only five days after it came under heavy fire. So high-interest-rate policy while appearing before the Senate banking committee.

P.A.L. POTATO WARS

Food processing giant McCain Foods Ltd. of Peterborough, N.B., announced that it will build a \$36-million potato-processing plant in Prince Edward Island in cooperation with a new, \$34 million operation, announced two weeks ago by Canadian Potato Farmers Ltd., owned by the strong family of St. John's, N.B. The two new plants will make the Island Canada's largest potato producer.

INDEBTEDNESS FEARS DIMINISH

Strong growth within the retail, manufacturing and service sectors pushed Canada's real gross domestic product up 6.4 per cent in December, following a 9.9 per cent decline in October, easing concerns among economists that the country was heading into a recession.

ARCHER SHARES PLUNGE

Shares of Calgary-based John Gossens Architects Inc., which had crashed sharply on the strength of its new three-dimensional sound technology, fell \$3 to close the week at \$17.15, down from a high of \$18 on Jan. 11. The drop was attributed to disappointment with an ad featuring the sound effect effect that aired during the Super Bowl on Jan. 28.

A LOCAL MERGER

Two of Canada's largest ice firms—McCarthy's Ice Creamery of Toronto and Clarkson Tiltmill of Montreal—announced plans to merge. The new partnership, to be named McCarthy Tiltmill, will employ more than 440 associates, making it Canada's largest.



The Prime Minister's political choices

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Because perception has become reality, politicians' images seldom catch up with changes in their attitudes from Mulroney's in a case in point.

There was a time, especially during his first three years in office, when Mulroney was hard to bank in public action that he seemed willing to do almost anything to avoid making political enemies. His desire to be perceived as a serious reconciler of how Canadian voters feel about prime ministers—a relationship that demands not love, but respect, Mulroney's mind slaying away from tough decisions was all too convincing of the sentiment attributed to Voltaire. When the French philosopher lay on his deathbed, an attending priest demanded, "Monsieur Voltaire, would you like to renounce the devil?" The dying man looked momentarily startled, shook his head and replied, "Certainly not. This is no time to make new enemies."

Not ever since he was re-elected with a second majority 15 months ago, Mulroney has been behaving very differently. Instead of trying to ingratiate himself with public and press, the Prime Minister has lacked a sequence of politically hazardous issues that have made him enemies, effortlessly. It's difficult to pick out any group of citizens he has set to alienate with his various attitudes, as he goes on surprising policies he feels are necessary, no matter how unpopular. His party's recent trip to the Gulf oil port to just 22 per cent, less than half the public support for the leaderless Liberals, testifies to the negative impact of Mulroney's tough stance.

He later appeared to having his daily schedule driven by photo opportunities, the Prime Minister has gone up attempting to please the Parliamentary Press Gallery because he is convinced most of its members will never give him a fair hearing. He has not held a formal news conference in Ottawa's National Press Building in more than two years. Since Jan. 18, 1987, a second appeared only by one other head of government: René Lévesque, the president of Alberta.

It is difficult to pick out any citizens Mulroney has yet to alienate, as he implements policies he feels are needed, no matter how unpopular

Although Michael Wilson's April, 1986, budget was the toughest since the Second World War, this month's document will be even more brutal, slashing not only current estimates of future spending but departmental administrations. While \$4 billion or so has already been cut out of the annual budget deficit inherited from the Trudeau peers, the Tories are determined to slice the current figure in half (to \$15 billion) by 1993. As part of that exercise, Mulroney has lost budget on implementing a Goods and Services Tax—even in the face of mounting universal opposition, bound to grow as the 1993 deadline approaches.

At the same time, that most sacred of Canadian institutions, universality of social programs, has been discarded with the clockwork precision to tax back children's allowances and oblige pension payments from upper-bracket income earners. They can, the main Tory plank of the 1986 election, has been forgotten, the glowing promises to buy new defence equipment, shelved.

Abortion, the most controversial issue of all, was tackled in a way that has made both pro-lifers and pro-choice advocates so angry that the compromise legislation just might slip through the middle. Unemployment insurance,

another formerly uncontested subject, is finally being reformed by the withdrawal of \$2 billion in federal funding. Via Rail, subsidized by \$5 billion during the past 12 years, has been put up, despite widely supported protests.

After interminable years of bagging, active land claims are being settled, including the biggest of them all, the 260,000 square kilometres ceded to the best of the central and eastern Arctic. And although Pierre Trudeau, first as justice minister and later as prime minister, had access to the same files for 20 years, nothing was done until recently to start prosecuting alleged Nazi war criminals residing in Canada, despite protests by some ethnic groups.

Most of the attacks on environmental issues remain to be taken, but the Tories have moved against the Rafferty-Alameda Dam in Saskatchewan and have bluntly told the Alberta government that the \$1.2-billion pulp mill Alberta Pacific Pulp Industries is planning on the Athabasca River is environmentally unacceptable.

These and other steps including deep cuts in transfer payments expected in the next budget are being implemented at a time when Ottawa desperately needs provincial support to save the Meech Lake accord. The agreement was already in jeopardy, with the Manitoba New Brunswick and Newfoundland provinces in active opposition. But now that Pierre Trudeau has reunited with Jean Chrétien on the national stage, opponents of the deal suddenly have the immense advantage of a leading French-Canadian touring the country preaching that, not to worry, Quebec's won't up and leave Confederation if the accord is not ratified.

Even if Chrétien is right, Quebec will never risk for less to join Canada's constitutional family. Meech was negotiated at one of the rare moments in Canadian history when partisan differences were forgotten and all governments, as well as the leaders of the three national parties, unanimously agreed on an acceptable formula. What has happened since proves just how rare that moment really was and how difficult, if not impossible, it would be to re-create.

Public support for Meech Lake has waned partly because of two basic misunderstandings. Too many Canadians still equate the entire Constitution's "notwithstanding" clause with Meech Lake's "distinct society" provision. There is no connection. The former clause was put into the 1982 document, at the request of western provinces led by Manitoba's Sterling Lyon, to protect western legislatures from centralist intrusion, the latter is a historically rooted description of one of Canada's founding societies. Another point of confusion is the feeling that Meech Lake was somehow responsible for the Quebec law forbidding outside signs in English. Again, there is no connection, although the unfortunate timing of Robert Bourassa's election-inspired legislation has left an understandably bitter taste in English Canada.

The Meech Lake accord is the new, tough Brian Mulroney's greatest gamble. This time, he hasn't just bet the family silver he has bet the country.

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Maclean (left), Sagalovich and U.S. underwater photographer Emory Kristoff: concern over nuclear leaks

ENVIRONMENT

UNDERWATER RISKS

**EXCLUSIVE PHOTOS
AND NEW CONCERN
ABOUT POSSIBLE
RADIATION DANGER
FROM A SUNKEN
SOVIET SUBMARINE**

Last April, the Soviet nuclear submarine *Komsomolsk* caught fire and sank off the coast of Norway. Following Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of glasnost, Soviet naval authorities swiftly informed Western governments—and assured them that there had been no apparent radiation leak. But last week, Dr. Joseph Maclean, the internationally renowned Canadian expert on deep-sea diving reported that Soviet experts at a conference he attended near Moscow last month had expressed concern about the long-term risks of nuclear radiation from the *Komsomolsk* and the six other nuclear submarines (four Soviet and two U.S.) known to have sunk. As well, Maclean, who conducted dives with Soviet experts in the North Atlantic last June, released exclusive photographs to Maclean's of the *Komsomolsk*'s wreckage. His report.

The fire broke out just before noon Moscow time last April 7 after an electrical short circuit in the number 7 compartment near the stern of the world's largest nuclear-attack submarine. The Reactor spread at an extraordinary rate, then intense heat consuming bulkheads and forming thick clouds of long-filling smoke. Despite the efforts of the 69 Soviet officers and sailors on board, the fire spread forward into the compartments that housed the reactor area. By late afternoon, the *Mike-class* *Komsomolsk*, longer than a football field and one of the new generation of Soviet heavy-killer subs, was lying on the bottom of the Norwegian sea in about 5,000 feet of water. Forty-two men died. A few weeks later, the world's largest oceanographic research ship, the



Soviet *Komsomolsk* (left and below, right) bridge windows; *Mike-class* craft (below, left) fire scars and haunting images





ENVIRONMENT

Norcross Kalyuk, positioned itself over the downed submarine on a grey sea 130 miles southeast of Harbin's Bear Island. Debutant were specialists and technicians from Moscow's highly requested Institute of Oceanology, led by Anatol Seglervich, an ocean engineer and head of the institute's Laboratory of Marine

of "radioactive materials leaking into the ocean, and the long-term effects on the ecology and food chain."

When the sank, the Komsomol, which had two titanium hulls and a sophisticated water jet propulsion system capable of underwater speeds of 64 m.p.h., was carrying two advanced liquid-metal cooled reactors. OK the approximately 300 nuclear subs in the world,

only seven use liquid metal as the primary coolant. Several years ago, the United States navy derailed against the similar weight but higher risks of that system.

The pictures of the Komsomol show a brutally damaged hull with open hatch, fire scars and twisted metal sections. The bow area is ripped apart, and at least one of the top-level missile tubes is open. The most haunting images are the white-framed windows. They look as if an enormous wedge had been thrown and when the Komsomol was running on the surface. The submarine flooded, sank and now lies partly buried in seven feet of sediment, said Seglervich. "It would be almost impossible to break her free and salvage her."

The 130 delegates from 10 nations who attended the conference were clearly impressed by the clear photographs. Said Frank Butty, a Washington-based international authority on aerospace research vehicles. "She was the only one in her class, a floating laboratory as well as an attack sub," he added. "Six months ago, I was convinced we would never see these pictures." Last week in Toronto, Alex Marmion, executive director of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, said, "Perhaps this new attitude will lead to

Tugboat towing U.S. nuclear sub to port (above); Soviet MiG submarines: a call for all limits



There, late last month at an international conference on underwater vehicles held near Moscow and sponsored by the academy, Seglervich displayed some of the pictures and results of the survey. "The Komsomol is a stone piece," he said, "and there is no significant leak of radioactive materials." But he added that he and his colleagues were worried about the possibility

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Thresher (above) and (below) its wreckage off Newfoundland ocean floor.



open seas." For his part, Sagdeitch said that he and other members of his team were shaken by the emotional experience of seeing the wreckage up close. "The thought of those lost sailors will be with us forever," he said, "and the grief of their mothers, wives and children. They were our brothers."

At the close of the conference, institute director Vyacheslav Yatskovsky posed Sagdeitch in calling for an international agency to monitor the sites of all known nuclear submarine accidents. The first occurred in 1963 about 600 miles south of Newfoundland when the USS Thresher sank in 8,000 feet of water, killing all 129 men aboard. In or near the seven Soviet nuclear submarines known to be lying on the ocean floor are nine nuclear reactors and an unknown number of nuclear missiles and warheads. Some experts say that much of the hardware is releasing highly radioactive materials into the ocean. Biologists already point at the long-term changes that have already begun. That, said Sagdeitch, is why he wants "critical areas of the ocean that are ecologically sensitive to be off limits to nuclear submarines."

Because Soviet and Western sailors in nuclear submarines have regarded each other as targets for 45 years, most military planners on both sides would likely say that such a proposal is unrealistic. But after all, only a year ago few experts could have predicted the storm of liberalizing changes sweeping across Eastern Europe, and now the possibility of nuclear-free oceans cannot be ruled out either. □

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THE FACE OF HUNGER

**FOOD BANKS AND
SOUP KITCHENS
HAVE BECOME A
ROUTINE PART OF
CANADIAN LIFE**

Viki Adams owned two fur coats and many other trappings of prosperity until her schizophrenic husband suffered three strokes that left him crippled and barely able to speak. Then, in December, she stood alone outside the Polish Community Hall on Vancouver's east side, waiting for a handout of free food. Adams, who looks older than her 49 years, wept as she explained how her husband's illness had wiped out her family's affluence. "We gave to charity in the past when we had money," she said. "Now, we have to take charity. I never thought I would be on the receiving end." The Adams and their 17-year-old son now live in a modest apartment that costs less than \$500 of their monthly \$1,114 wel-

fare cheque. The most barely covers utilities and leaves little for food. "We eat once a day, and there are days when there is nothing to eat," said Viki Adams, whose family is now among the one in seven Canadians who cannot be sure of having enough money to feed themselves.

Future: Economists blame a combination of factors, including rising taxes, unemployment (which stood at 7.5 per cent of the workforce in December, compared with 7.4 per cent a year earlier), soaring rents in many cities and cuts in governments' social spending. Food banks, once viewed as temporary measures that were expected to disappear after the country recovered from the 1982-1983 recession, have become a permanent feature on the Canadian



Out of the Cold Program, Toronto (left); Lisa Walker in her Montreal apartment: extreme poverty is actually increasing

landscape. Said Edmund Bloos, who manages a food bank in Regina. "We thought we were growing out of a food problem, but now people are living off what they get from us." At the same time, social workers and others say that they are disturbed by the swelling ranks of hungry children in Canada. Indeed, Canadians under the age of 16 now make up fully one-quarter of those living below the poverty line (page 52). Hans Scharnberg, executive director of the Ottawa-based National Anti-Poverty Organization, said that for children to go hungry is an advanced industrialized society like Canada's "shows how much our values have slipped."

Security: Scharnberg said that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government was partly to blame for that because it is preoccupied with reducing the federal budget deficit instead of confronting itself to full employment and strengthening the social-security safety net for those who cannot work. Asked Robinson: "Collectively, we have chosen that we are prepared to live with 13 to 15 per cent of our population being poor, and probably hungry, so the other 85 per

cent can enjoy a higher standard of living." According to the National Council of Welfare, an official body that advises the federal minister of health and welfare, 3.9 million Canadians—or 14.8 per cent of Canada's population—now live below the poverty line (a complete measurement that varies from one region to another). In fact, that figure actually represents 341,000 fewer people than in 1984, when 18.8 per cent of the population was left impoverished by the recession of the early 1980s. But experts say that the poverty-line statistics fail to reflect the fact that the number of Canadians facing extreme poverty is actually increasing as a result of high rents, rising taxes, low minimum wages and welfare payments that are not indexed to take account of inflation. Said Gerard Kennedy, executive director of Toronto's Daily Bread Food Bank: "Our impression of a decline in poverty is illusory, because there has been an increase in the numbers of people who have less access. The depth of poverty is increasing."

According to Statistics Canada, most of the 3.7 million Canadians who fall below Ottawa's poverty measure levels are actually poor, that is,

their incomes are less than 80 per cent of the cutoff. Such people can seldom afford to feed themselves adequately. According to the National Council of Welfare, Canada's hard-core poor include 56.7 per cent of the nation's 390,000 single mothers, more than half of all single women over 65, half of all the single young people aged 16 to 24 and 16.1 per cent, or 915,000, of children under 16.

Kitchen: The chilling evidence of poverty and hunger is visible everywhere. Maj. David Perry, a Salvation Army spokesman in Calgary, said that the average age level of his city's old raw sublets has markedly decreased over the past eight years. He added: "Now, they are scarcely likely to be in their 20s but in their 50s." As well, the lines at the nation's food banks and soup kitchens are getting longer. In Toronto, one of Canada's richest cities, with an average family income of \$39,441 and a low unemployment rate (6.6 per cent), more than 200 separate food distribution programs are currently providing food to 84,000 people a month—twice the number served by food banks in the city three years ago in St. John's, where unemployment hovers around



SPECIAL REPORT

THE SHIFT TO SERVICE-SECTOR JOBS IS MAKING MANY CANADIANS POORER

16 per cent, 3,300 people a month seek help from food banks, nearly double the total last May.

Increasingly what constitutes poverty in Canada is a matter of considerable debate among economists and social observers. On average, Canadians are deemed to be living below the poverty line when they have to spend more than 56.6 per cent of income on the essentials of life: food, clothing and shelter. In rural areas, that line ranges from \$5,759 for a single person to \$17,377 for a family of four. In cities with a population of more than 500,000, where the cost of living is higher, the line is \$12,867 for a single person and \$25,525 for a family of four.

Poverty: According to Michael Bradfield, an economist at Dalhousie University in Halifax, poverty is relative to the society where it occurs. "Our poor," said Bradfield, "cannot be compared to those in the slums of Calcutta, because Canadian poor have to walk down Bloor Street, see exclusive Toronto shopping areas and look in the shop windows to see what they cannot afford." And Christopher Bagley, a

professor of social work at the University of Calgary who frequently visits India, says that Ottawa's poverty lines are misleading. Said Bagley, "The bulk of poor people are those having black-and-white TV sets. They survive

comfortably at a level the Third World would be very happy at."

Bagley claims that the only really poor people in Canada are its native people, whom he described as "a tiny fraction of the population whom we ignore as an uncomfortable fact." As for other Canadians below the poverty line, said Bagley, "the welfare state is good enough that no one starves, no one lies in the street and freezes to death. You could argue that there is no real poverty in Canada, just some people who don't have as much as the average person,



Meatless at missions in Vancouver (above) and Montreal: chilling

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Trevor Hickney in Moncton, N.B.: 212,000 children are among the poorest

because some of them are poor spenders. They cannot manage their lives and are only marginally efficient."

Still, Canadian-style poverty brings with it the risk of hunger. A national commission estimating hunger in Regis reported in October that "when you're poor, food becomes an option." Added the report: "The reality is that poor people are not wasting money; they simply do not have enough. All the careful budgeting in the world and all the lessons on nutrition and cooking, while helpful, simply cannot stretch too few

food dollars into lasting or entire meals."

Although Canada's poor rarely go without enough to eat, that is only because charitable organizations help to provide necessary dietary essentials. Louise Leger, 36, a single mother in Moncton, N.B., said that she cannot feed her two children without help from a food bank, even though she receives \$724 a month in welfare payments. Leger told Maclean's that her 28-month-old son requires a special diet while recovering from severe leish suffered as a kitchen accident in October, 1988. But Leger said that

welfare officials refuse to increase her allowance.

Lynn Horton, 44, a single mother with two school-age daughters in Winnipeg, receives \$220 a month in welfare payments but says that she has to dip into the food and clothing money every month just to pay her rent. "By the time you pay for the apartment, there's no money left," she said. Carl Blackman, an unemployed construction worker in Vancouver who has been collecting welfare for the past seven years, said that he goes to a food bank to supplement the \$500 monthly welfare cheque he currently receives. At 30, he says that he has lost hope of getting another construction job because "they want younger men." Many of the hard-core poor are saved from hunger by a nationwide network of food banks that solicit food from companies and from the public and distribute it to the needy. According to the Toronto-based Canadian Association of Food Banks, 155 such organizations across Canada supply or operate at least 1,100 grocery distribution outlets and 490 meal programs. Each month in 1988, food banks provided food for an average of 378,000 Canadians. Toronto's Daily Bread Food Bank, for one, handles about 500,000 lb. of donated food a month, and distributes groceries and produce to more than 200 Toronto-area agencies, which in turn hand out the food to needy people. Officials at the food bank said that, although it tries to offer a variety of food, it is often limited to providing about 12 basic items, including bread, breakfast cereals and dried fruits. Supplies of such protein-rich foods as canned beans and peanut butter are scarce and have to be ordered.

Handouts: The very existence of food banks is controversial. Penelope Raves, executive director of the Community Services Council in St. John's, for one, argues that the more food banks there are, the more people use them. "By establishing a service, you create a demand," said Raves. Others contend that not all people on welfare need food handouts. Said the University of Calgary's Taylor: "Food banks are a social symptom to the welfare state for bad operators of their resources."

Still, few critics claim that food banks are being abused. They argue that having noticeable institutions for food is so depressing that few Canadians would do it unless they had to. Many food banks advocate a means test, which requires an applicant to prove that he cannot afford to buy food.

Many experts say that Ottawa is partly to blame for the worsening difficulties of the poor. John Miles, a sociologist at Ottawa's Carleton University, said that the Mulroney government, in what he described as a risk to make the Canadians aware of the problem, has overlooked the essential role played by social policy. "Massive economic change always creates winners and losers," said Miles. "Social policies are necessary to redistribute the costs and benefits of that change." According to Miles, the federal government's social work at the University of Regina, the shift away from manufacturing jobs to service-sector employment at the Canadian economy is making Gen-

dom people. Said Riches: "The only jobs which are being created are primarily in the service sector, low-paying and not able to support families."

But Michael McCracken, for one, president of the Ottawa-based economic research firm Information Ltd., rejected contention that the lot of the poor had worsened since the Mulroney government took office in 1984. He also disputed the notion that Canada has become more competitive and less compassionate simply under the current government. Said McCracken: "We are a richer society than we were 30 years ago, but we're no nearer or

\$8,775 a year full time. After paying income taxes, Canada Pension Plan contributions and unemployment insurance premiums, the worker would take home \$7,638—well below the poverty line for Eldorado. If the minimum-wage worker had a family, then he could get more money by living on welfare."

Shelter: Even Canadians who earn salaries well above the minimum wage have suffered a drop in purchasing power in recent years. Michael Goldberg, a senior research associate with the Vancouver-based Social Planning and Research Council of B.C., pointed out that, because of inflation and, in particular, the cost

crisis in a decade when incomes are more than doubled.

As if that were not enough, the working poor have also been hit by the biggest tax increases. Jean Senouen, head of a Vancouver lobby group called End Legislated Poverty, accused the federal Conservatives of making Canada "the only country among 34 industrialized nations that doesn't have a wealth tax." Figures provided by the Welfare Council show that a poorer family earning \$30,000 a year has had to pay tax increases totaling \$65 per year since 1984. At the same time, taxes for a middle-income family earning \$50,000 a year have

gone up only 15 per cent. Meanwhile, Walter Block, an economist and senior research fellow at Vancouver's night-long Fraser Institute, blames Ottawa for spending too much, rather than too little, on social-security programs. Said Block: "The welfare system impoverishes the poor because it takes away their initiative and incentive to work. We should substitute government welfare with private charity and concentrate our efforts on increasing productivity, which creates jobs."

Welfare: Social workers and others who work among Canada's poor generally agree that jobs are more important than increased welfare payments. But many say that they would prefer to see a more balanced approach that would provide a guaranteed minimum income for those who can work and better protection for those who cannot. Said Senouen: "It sends a political statement in Ottawa to full employment, like Sweden, an educational commitment to give people the skills to fill those jobs and more realistic income programs for the unemployed."

For Vicki Adan, standing at a Vancouver food line, the answer is for governments to hand out more money. "The government should be paying more welfare," she said. "There may be some who abuse it, but the majority really depend on it." Still, unless hunger becomes a political issue in Canada and forces governments to step in, Adan and other poor Canadians are unlikely to receive increased social-security payments. But, in Winnipeg, where the city's mayor, Jesse Doucette, has called for a "right to food" guarantee, the people whose food banks are currently cut off are likely to make a difference at election time.

BORGER JENNEN and BARBARA WICKES are journalists and newspaper reporters.



Gaylene Fournier and daughter Anabela: some families neither eat adequately on welfare

lower than we were a decade ago." As well, McCracken said that food banks help welfare recipients and others living below the poverty line to stretch their income by reducing the amount money they have to spend on groceries.

Minimum: In fact, about half of the Canadians who live below the poverty line are members of the class of so-called working poor, for whom employment is an alternative against hunger. According to the National Council of Welfare, the whole minimum wage across Canada ranges from \$4.25 an hour in Newfoundland to \$5 an hour in the Northwest Territories. A worker in Herts County who earns the provincial minimum wage of \$4.90 an hour can earn only

of shelter, "a person earning \$7.00 an hour is really making the equivalent of the minimum wage of the early 1970s." And the hardest hit are the young. Said Doucette's Bradstreet: "When we're talking child poverty, we must remember that many of their parents are probably under 30." He added, "To make ends meet, both parents have to work, which causes mental breakdowns and results in more single-parent families."

Young married couples are also least able to cope with the soaring cost of housing, which Bradstreet called "unbearable" in effect that offer the most pain. The average price of a Toronto house has risen to \$273,680 in 1989 from \$173,894 in 1980, nearly a fivefold in-



Toronto school lunch program: for thousands of children, it merely provides a short-term solution to a serious problem

THE CHILDREN'S STRUGGLE

ONE IN SIX MAY NOT GET ENOUGH TO EAT

As six Archambault lives with her two young daughters in a housing co-operative in east-end Vancouver. Now divorced, Archambault, 27, and her children, aged 7 and 8, are struggling to survive on social assistance payments of \$961 a month. After paying \$412 in rent for a two-room town house, and setting aside money for bills and clothes, Archambault has between \$350 and \$400 a month, or about \$90 a week, for food. When expenses are unusually high, the payments come out of Archambault's food money. Usually, Archambault will make meals of eggs, rice and beans. When she is particularly hungry, her family shares food with a neighbor. "It's a very desperate feeling," Archambault told Maclean's, "because your main concern is to get food into the children. For myself, I come last."

Archambault's predicament is a common one. Experts say that, every day in Canada,

thousands of children go to school hungry. According to the Ottawa-based National Council of Welfare, an estimated 3.7 million Canadians were living in poverty in 1988. And \$13,000—or 16 per cent—of those registered Canadians were children under the age of 16. In sum, one out of every six Canadian children lives in poverty—said, as a result, may not get enough to eat. Said Matt Matheson, chairman of Food and Nutrition at School, a volunteer program in Calgary: "Our society has turned its back on children. We don't put our children first anymore. We don't cherish them."

Agencies: During the past year, according to the Canadian Association of Food Banks, pantries or guardians at an estimated 560,000 Canadian children relied on food banks for nourishment. Indeed, Canadians under the age of 17 made up 40 per cent of the total number of people who received food from public agencies

or charitable organizations last year. In Metropolitan Toronto alone, 110,000 children live in poverty, according to statistics compiled by the city's Daily Bread Food Bank. Said Steve Eichenberg, executive director of the National Anti-Poverty Organization in Ottawa: "Our sense is that single mothers have always been hungry near the end of the month. What's new is now they don't even have enough to keep their kids from being hungry."

There are hungry children in two-woman families as well. Metropolitan Jean Martin, 36, and Monique Gaudin, 38, have been living on welfare since Martin's former husband walked out, cut her right forearm on a broken window and damaged tendons and nerves. The couple, who are not married, have a four-month-old daughter and a seven-year-old son. As well, Martin and Gaudin are looking after the year-old daughter of Martin's sister. "The five people who live in a three-room flat in the city's

professionally working-class families, receive \$657 in welfare benefits each month, out of which they pay about \$485 for electricity and \$426 rent. About \$100 is left to spend on food. Gordon says that she worries about the children. Said Gordon: "We do what we can, but it is very tough. Sometimes I can only feed the children breakfast and supper."

Hunger: Nutritionists and child-care experts say that when a child goes hungry, the effects can be difficult to detect, but they can also be serious and long-lasting. According to Dr. Chandra Shah, professor of preventive medicine and biostatistics at the University of Toronto, hunger in Canada does not lead inexorably to death, as it often does in Third World countries. In Canada, said Shah, "we see subtle starvation—and the effects are also subtle." Shah said that, in the short term, hungry or marginally nourished children may become irritable, aggressive or restless in a school or day-care setting.

Hunger can also affect a child in more obvious, physical ways. At the age of 7 said Shah, an undernourished child from a disadvantaged family is likely to be about three-quarters of its



At lunch in Canada, there is 'subtle starvation'

such stature than a child from a middle-class family. In addition, a child whose diet is inadequate will likely have a slightly smaller head size than a child raised on a healthy diet.

Mortality: The effects of poverty and poor diet can damage a child from birth. According to the World Health Organization, women who cannot afford to eat properly tend to bear children of low weight, which is the single most important cause of infant death. Infant mortality

rates among children from supervised homes are twice the national average. "They are disadvantaged cases of birth," said Shah. As well, babies weighing only five pounds, eight ounces at birth can suffer from conditions ranging from learning disabilities to mental retardation.

Programs: With concern growing over the plight of hungry or otherwise poorly nourished children, schools in some parts of the country, including Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Edmonton and Saskatoon, have initiated food and snack programs. In Vancouver, 13 inner-city schools have launched hot-lunch programs since 1986. Alister Fraser, a Vancouver School Board area superintendent, said that, three years ago, elementary-school principals in the city became concerned about the number of children who were coming to school without food or money. Said Fraser: "These children were suffering from malnutrition." After the city council, the province's Social Credit government and Ottawa all rejected the school board's requests for funds, the board decided to use its own money to set up food programs in four inner-city schools. City council in late 1988 contributed \$200,000 to the program, which allowed another eight schools to set up food programs. Now, more than 2,000 children in the city are provided with hot meals every day in the school year. "Unfortunately," said Fraser, "they have holidays and weekends." Still, some say that feeding children in the schools merely provides a short-term solution to a serious problem. Some, like Neil Heron, principal of Vancouver's Stearns Elementary School, say educational funds should not have to be used to meet children's needs that should be met at home or by other levels of government. "It's not just an education responsibility," said Heron. "It's a problem that federal and provincial governments have simply ignored." For his part, Ottawa's Eichenberg said that there is a great need for radical changes in confronting the problem of child hunger. "We have to get out of the charity game," said Eichenberg. "We need better social assistance."

Like many others in the field, Eichenberg says there is almost nothing of more concern to a single parent or a family on welfare than ensuring that their children get enough to eat. Vancouver's Archibald says continuing with poverty causes frustration and pain. Archibald noted that, if the stock low-paying job, the cost of providing day care for her children would leave less money than she receives from welfare. As a result, she said, "I feel disappointed and a parent." Murray's Martin acknowledges similar sense of frustration. He said, he said, "Those that are other families who live better than us. We don't live. We just exist. On bad days, I tell him it will be better tomorrow." But experts agree that until governments address the problem of child hunger, better times may not arrive quite so soon.

NORA UNDERWOOD and **DEREK POLAK** are Vancouver, B.C. reporters in Calgary. **NEAL SENIOR** is a Winnipeg and **DAN FURBER** is Montreal.

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Challenging history

Peaceful women may have once ruled the world

For more than a century, some scholars have speculated that, thousands of years ago, Central Europe may have been the home of a peaceful goddess-worshipping civilization that was dominated by women. With the emergence of feminist thought in the Western academic world during the past two decades, interest in the theory has grown. Anthropologist Marija Gimbutas, a professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, for one, has claimed to have uncovered evidence to support the theory. Gimbutas says that an invasion from the east of warlike Indo-European, nomadic peoples who worshipped male gods ended about 4,500 years of peace and set the stage for the era of conflict that has followed ever since.

Gimbutas's groundswell has inspired a controversy in the academic world. Her book, *The Language of the Goddess*, published last October, contains on 3,000 markings and symbols found on ancient artifacts and on temples

uncovered during 16 years of excavations in Yugoslavia, Italy and Greece. Gimbutas writes that the symbols, which date from 7000 to 2500 B.C., prove that "our authentic European heritage" was a nonviolent, earth-growing culture where "the ruling was in the women's hands."

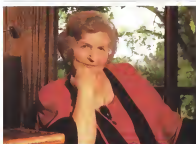
Lithuanian-born Gimbutas, 66, is not the first person to propose that a goddess-worshipping civilization existed. In 1902, Swiss anthropologist Johann Bachofen advanced a similar idea in his book *Das Mutterrecht* (*The Mother Right*). In addition, followers of 20th-century Swiss psychologist Carl Jung have long upheld the same idea. Psychiatrist Julia Reinhold Hillel, a professor at the C. G. Jung Institute in San Francisco, helped to popularize the view in her 1982 book, *Goddess in Everyman*. But Gimbutas, the author of 20 other books on anthropology and mythology, has gone farther than any previous scholar in producing evidence to support the theory. Said Gimbutas

"I'm not interested in theory. The materials speak for themselves."

In her book, Gimbutas claims that, unlike the later, male-dominated societies that produced weapons and advanced warfare qualities, the earlier culture, centered on goddesses, was more interested in building structures and temples and in making pottery and sculpture. "This was a long-lasting period of measurable creativity and stability," she writes, "an age free of strife." The goddesses worshipped in that period she says represented nature. Writes Gimbutas: "The goddesses were mainly life creators, not Viruses or leishanias, and most definitely not the wives of male gods."

Gimbutas speculates that a male-dominated warrior society from the East began to destroy the peace-loving civilization beginning around 4300 B.C. Gimbutas says that fewer than five per cent of the figures she excavated were of solid figures and that the more recent artifacts, loaded at shoulder depth, included daggers and swords and were clearly influenced by warrior gods.

Still, many experts in Gimbutas's field reject her theories as unscientific conjectures. John Hayes, director of the Greek and Roman department at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, said that the belief in an ancient culture built around goddesses is currently popular. But he said that he does not agree with some of Gimbutas's interpretations of the ancient symbols she found. Said Hayes: "She's got a fantastic wealth of knowledge in the Neolithic and Bronze ages. But we're dealing



Gimbutas: a culture interested in building shrines and in making pottery

with prehistory. There are no written records, and some of her statements are quite dogmatic."

Other anthropologists and archeologists say that they question whether it is possible to interpret symbols of art prehistorically. "Many people will say, 'No, you can't do that,'" said University of Alberta anthropology profes-

or Beth Goheen. "Gimbutas has gone into areas where other archeologists have tried to tread, and some would say she is on the border. I would say that she has a plausible interpretation." Diana Trigger, an anthropology professor at McMaster's McGill University, and that, although Gimbutas's theories make "reasonable good sense," they are really only be-

considered "hunches." Added Trigger: "Because she isn't able to show any direct continuity to a written record, it's really hard to build up a convincing argument."

But the interest in goddesses is growing, particularly among North American women. In September, the Royal Ontario Museum drew more than 2,300 people to its four-day series on goddesses, which featured lectures and a screening of an hour-long National Film Board documentary, *Goddess Reawakened*. The film's director, Diana Reed, said that she believes women are drawn to the theory of goddesses because they have difficulty embracing upturned patriarchal religions. Similarly, Joanna Stodiek, a professor of humanities and women's studies at Toronto's York University, says that the popularity of goddesses can be attributed to people's growing need to co-operate with nature and with other people.

For her part, Gimbutas herself appears to have no doubts about the accuracy of her theories. And she claims that society should return to its goddess-worshipping roots. "I am saying we should not forget our history," and Gimbutas. "There are some good things—there is the wisdom of our planet, which in earlier times was really respected." She insists that *The Language of the Goddess* is a lesson for the loss of a better way of life. But, she added, "It's a fact that these people lived in much happier times."

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HEART NEWS

*Shocking socks, dog-jogging, and platelet clumping...
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By Nancy Logan

LIVE WIRE



Dr. Lynda Mickleborough and Eugene Downar

Two Toronto doctors have invented a device to treat patients suffering arrhythmia, or abnormal heart rhythm.

After years of research funded by the Heart and Stroke Foundation, Dr. Lynda Mickleborough and Dr. Eugene Downar developed Balloon Electric Shock Ablation (BESA), a small balloon inserted into the heart through the arteries. The electrodes on the balloon are used to zap the electrical impulses in the heart. Through the incision from the balloon (as well as an electrode-studded "sock" which can be draped around the outside of

the heart), the doctors can precisely locate the source of the arrhythmia and remove it by "zap-

ping" the troublesome cells with an electrical charge. Unlike earlier techniques, BESA doesn't involve any incisions in the main pumping chamber of the heart. Although still in the developmental stages, BESA has been used to treat six patients at the Toronto General Hospital. Arrhythmias, caused by disease or injury to the heart, have been identified in as many as 40,000 sudden deaths in Canada every year.

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FISH STORY

Bruce Hishik has been feeding university students fish. In the interests of medical science.

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Guelph, has been funded by the Heart and Stroke Foundation to study eicosapentaenoic acid — EPA — a unique kind of polyunsaturated fat found in fish.

"What we've been doing, he says, "is feeding diets containing EPA to university volunteers

Risk Stroke: Fish consume eicosapentaenoic acid — EPA — a unique kind of polyunsaturated fat.

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"The question is can you The Heart and Stroke control blood lipid or fat level and of Ontario says so you don't get plaque in there are major risk factors — first place?" asks Hishik. "Obesity, diet, smoking, and blood if you have plaque already, measure — that are within our you prevent platelet-to-platelet. The foundation quotes changing, and thereby preventing year study of more than extend life expectancy?"

900 people which shows that EPA seems to offer a potential activity significantly reduced stroke — it's so polyunsaturated the risk of death from stroke, so blood, that it actually disease.

EPA seems to offer a potential activity significantly reduced stroke — it's so polyunsaturated the risk of death from stroke, so blood, that it actually disease.

Dr. Michael Sale



been estimated that about fifth per cent of patients with this high fat diets tend to raise blood sugar the within four years.

By Sale, Director of cholesterol going up, to heart your Centre for Cardiovascular of having a heart attack Research at the Toronto.

Hospital and a volunteer set. The health of your heart depends on the Heart and Stroke's on keeping your blood cholesterol, says the solution planned under control. And responsive heart failure has a means being careful about early definition and prevention amount of fat you eat.

There are different kinds of fats, each with a different effect.

Though years of research, he should, Sale is hoping that a series will open new horizons. TRANS FATS tend to raise the treatment of people with cholesterol — so you want to heart disease. "If you think about this. Although most of heart disease," he says — saturated fat you eat comes "by disease," on animal foods like meat,



one less and thus not lower calories. In addition to burning up calories, exercise can affect the metabolism and the intake of calories. Contrary to popular belief, physical activity seems to suppress, rather than increase, appetite.

If you add a half-hour daily walk to your schedule, in a year's time you will have burned up an extra 45,000 calories and lost 15 pounds. Jog with the dog for 15 minutes three nights a week and you'll lose another eight pounds.

poultry, milk, cheese and butter, the tropical oils, like palm and coconut, are also very saturated.

POLYUNSATURATED FATS help lower blood cholesterol. These fats come mostly from nuts, like almonds, flaxseed, pecans and walnuts. They are also found in vegetable oils, like safflower, sunflower and corn. Some soft margarines contain 40 to 55 per cent polyunsaturated fat.

OMEGA-3 FATS tend to lower blood triglycerides, a type of blood fat involved in the development of heart disease. Omega-3 fats are a type of polyunsaturated fat found in fish oils. Experts advise against fish oil supplements and suggest eating more

fish — as often as two or three times a week.

MONOSATURATED FATS also help to lower blood cholesterol. These fats come mostly from olive, canola, peanut and soybean oils.



In fighting heart disease, some factors are beyond our control — like age, gender, heredity. But fortunately, the greatest weapon against Canada's number one killer is self-awareness.

The solution to congestive heart failure lies in early detection and prevention, or in arresting and reversing its causes.

PHYSICIAN, HEAL THYSELF

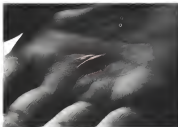
Unlike the cells that make up our skin or bones, heart cells do not reproduce themselves. If damaged, there is no way to cure or repair them. For now.

But colleagues Michael Sale and C. C. Lee, two of the very few cardiovascular researchers in Canada trained in molecular biology, are involved in work which may someday change that fact. At the leading edge of modern science, their research suggests the possibility that we may learn how to "turn on" the heart muscle's ability to reproduce itself. The damaged heart might, quite literally, repair itself.

The team is investigating the biological and genetic aspects of the heart cell contributing to the development of congestive heart failure. This condition develops when the heart muscle loses its strength and ability to pump blood. It has

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We have the experts in education and risk reduction. We have the Heart and Stroke Foundation of Ontario funds 67 per cent of cardiac and stroke research in your province. We run the Heart program that has been so helpful to so many people.

WE'VE HEART ON THE WAITER

The idea for this magazine came from people like you. And many of the suggestions for articles did too.

SWITCHARNS

Is there sex after heart attack?
What should we know?

THE NEW TO A MAN'S HEART

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TELEVISION

Designing woman

CBC tries out a fashion sitcom for size

MATERIAL WORLD

(CBC, Mondays, 7:30 p.m.)

The characters are funny and likable. They bring one lesson endlessly while they patch up their hairless quarrels within each half-hour segment. In fact, *Material World*, a new CBC show about a fashion designer starting this week, seems to fulfil all the basic requirements of a TV success.

Its creative producer, 35-year-old Torontoer Kate Rice, acquired her credentials in Los Angeles writing scripts for *Arrested Development*. The new show is part of the CBC's current commitment to creating homegrown situation comedies, a strategy that yielded two new offerings last fall, *Moonlight Lake* and *In Opposites*. However, in *Opposites*, about a newly elected female member of Parliament, was cancelled after six episodes, while the fate of the most raucous comedy series *Moonlight Lake* is still undecided. Now, Rice and her *Material World* collaborator—a trio of young writers including her two sisters, Jane—can bask in the glory of a comedy that has found its way to the air.

The show centres on an attractive young fashion designer, Katy Reeves (Linda Brownell), who sets up business in the left-of-center, trendy building. The overbearing-but-lovable partner, Papa Jack (Kris Kristofferson), is the self-proclaimed King of Polyester who has spent decades in the garment industry, spreading his expertise as a fashion designer, spreading it as a fashion designer. Katy's disapproving mother, Gary (Linda Sorensen), is a voluptuous blonde who works as a receptionist while she waits for another husband to appear. Clearly, Katy, Gary and Papa are not cut from the same cloth, but they all get caught in a sticky predictable sitcom. When Papa and Gary are not trying to crush Katy's style-savvy Papa's fashion designs into her first fashion show, awaiting her prospective boyfriend—they are zapping in her. For Katy, show all, is a much pot-spoon girl who cannot say no to her family.

The show's creators have obviously learned the sitcom formula well. By focusing on a convenient vehicle to parody an industry—fashion—their sitcom could be too seriously. Unfortunately, they rarely take advantage of the comic possibilities, opting instead for the unscripted grand of domestic comedy—already covered territory on TV. Most of the plots are as tame as a TV sitcom, and Rice, who is supposed to be a credible fashionista, shows less grace than most TV designers.



Brownell in *Material World* designer with dilemmas

Still, there are some deft comic touches, particularly actor Jane's satirical parody of Renee, the perpetually disgraced bookkeeper. Snatching, slowness and taste, Renee is snatched by just about everything on the planet—except her secret heartbreak. Alan Tudyk, the reliable host of the *Jagged* piece show "Our way," the game to the TV set as the *Jagged*-themed music starts up. That may be the only reason *Material World* makes it unlikely that the CBC has finally created a sitcom tailored for prime-time success.

DIANE TURNER



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TOURISM

Maddening crowds

Residents of Peggy's Cove debate their future

The picture-postcard village 30 km south of Halifax was once the secluded summer haunt of a handful of artists and photographers. But after both artists deserted it in the 1960s, Peggy's Cove became a tourist mecca. In recent years, its sand cove, weathered fishing shacks, lighthouse and granite shore have attracted more than 200,000 visitors annually in cars, motorboats and on foot, growing in number of tourists. The onslaught has brought about an array of problems for the 58 year-old residents of the village. In addition to traffic snags, they have also voiced concerns about air pollution, waste disposal—even vandalism. Said Roger Crooks, one of eight fishermen still based in Peggy's Cove: "We're afraid the uniqueness of the community will be destroyed. We have to support the tourists, but it has to be done on a community basis."

As a result of the problems, the Nova Scotia government last year commissioned a \$57,000

study of the community's future. Anne Macleod, a Halifax environmental planning consultant working on the study, said that the villagers "don't want to become a theme park. They want to be a real village." She says that community consultation is the main thrust of the study, due to be completed in May. Most Peggy's Cove residents have already been interviewed. A community meeting was held last month and another is scheduled for Feb. 3. Said Macleod: "There are a lot of strong-minded people with strong opinions here. It is like travelling on eggshells. But the whole point is to make Peggy's Cove a better experience for tourists as well as a better place to live." Clearly, planners' attempts to accomplish both those goals without placing further stress on the once-peaceful fishing village will undergo close scrutiny by villagers and the tourism industry alike.

GLEN ALLEN is in Halifax.

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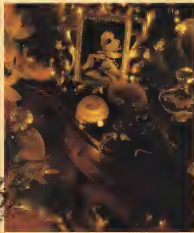
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TRIDEL

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FILMS

Born to be wild

Dennis Hopper recycles his bad-boy image

His head, which seems big for his body, sits on shoulders that are hunched and tense. His deep-set, shadowed eyes stare intensely forward, as if he's looking at something that's just out of sight. He's wearing a dark, heavy jacket, and his hair is dark and messy. He's looking directly at the camera, and his expression is serious and intense.

helps coach a basketball team to victory in *Hoosiers*. As a director, Hopper then scored a box-office hit with *Cobra* (1986), an antiheroic drama about Los Angeles cops.

Now Hopper has come full circle. In *Flashback*, a sentimental farce, the actor plays his bad-boy image for laughs: He portrays Huey, a yuppie pretender who craves puppet recognition. After spending two decades on the ground, Huey has turned himself in, hoping that he



Hopper recovering his sanity, sobriety and career

secret might generate enough publicity to get his autobiography published. Canadian actor Kevin Costner plays the FBI agent charged with escorting the prisoner to trial. With some psychobabble, splash of hard, Huey gets the agent drunk and switches identities with him. As both characters become fugitives—chased by a corrupt sheriff—they reveal secrets about each other's past. And *Flashback* turns into a magic-bag badly movie, a crumbly nostalgia trip into the Age of Aquarius.

The plot boils down to much water in a tub of Motown and *The Godfather*, by Italian filmmaker Franco Amato, is pretentious. And

Flashback's regression drives comedy to clapping audiences. Between the 1960s aperté that it pretends to embrace. But the comic scenes are generally funny. And, with Sutherland serving as his wackadoodle straight man, Hopper delights in a role that seems to have been written for him. In real screen, his character even makes a key comment on the Hopper legend: "It takes more than going down to your local valen store and reading *Easy Rider* to be a rebel."

Despite appearances, Hopper maintains that the script—modeling that line—was written well before he was cast. He had no experience in comedy but clearly relished the opportunity. And, as a veteran of protest marches that took him from Santa Ana, to Berkeley, Calif., Hopper had some insight into the role. "I felt really sorry," he said, "for all those guys who had themselves out on the street with nowhere to go—becoming casualties of disaster parties." There was no particular model for his character, he added, but Hopper was an obvious resemblance to rapper leader Abbie Hoffman, who died last year.

For his part, Hopper has survived some outrageous misadventures. Shortly before committing himself in 1963, he made a risky artistic statement as a director: start scenes in the *Beatnik* *Straw Hat*. Before a crowd at a Houston race track, Hopper straggled himself into a chair surrounded by a circle of dynamite sticks. When they were exploded simultaneously, he was left unharmed.

Now living in Venice, Calif., with his fourth wife, Katherine, a 33-year-old ballet dancer, Hopper seems eager to put the past behind him. "I don't sit around reflecting on the things I've done," he said. "And I don't have any desire to drink or take drugs." He even espouses romance about the influence of *Easy Rider*, a 1969/1970 movie that grossed more than \$10 million. The film's heroes were glorified drug dealers, Hopper confesses packing cocaine on motorcycles. "In a sense," said Hopper, "I'm responsible for cocaine being a popular drug."

Cocaine burned a huge hole in Hopper's own career, and he is anxious to make up for lost time. He has just finished directing a movie titled *Hot Shot*, starring Don Johnson as an ex-convict Texas sheriff. Hopper's career with *Flashback* is a return to his roots. As a comedy star, a 33-year-old presidential candidate due out next fall. And Hopper's first has been chronically from just \$66,000 for *Flashback* to \$500,000 for *Flashback*.

In *Flashback*, Hopper's character offers a whimsical prophecy: "Once we get out of the Eighties," he says, "the Nineties are going to make the Eighties look like the Fifties." And if he actually believes that, Hopper smiled and said, "It's a good movie line." Being easy at last, he has himself to respect the solid value in between life and art.

DAVID D. JOHNSON



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A canny account of Newfoundland politics

Glade When the two men walked home together at night, usually squabbling, the two Jameses would tag along, he recalls, "one hand in my father's and the other in Sisterhood's." In February, 1934, overwhelmed by the Depression, the Division of Newfoundland voted itself out of existence and accepted a British-appointed commission to run the island. Two months later, James's father died of septicaemia. His widow, Isabelle, pushed her eldest son into a high-school business course, which eventually led to a job with the Canada



the intense leader—and only living Father of Confederation. Don Jonsson, who later served as a federal legislative councillor and high commissioner to Ottawa, witnessed those turbulent times as a St. John's housemaster, then broadcaster, and as an active member of the anti-Confederation forces. *No Place for Aunts*, the first volume in his two-part memoir project, is a candid and often scathing assessment of the life and Swallowtail's subsequent quietude spent throughout the 1950s to last until military to his beloved aunt. Completed in 1986, shortly before Jonsson's death, the account is a candid and delightfully raw observation on politics and its players, laid bare but hardly too harsh on its subjects.

Based on the Newfoundland capital in 1941 as the eldest of six children, Jonsson lived through Newfoundland's infancy as its first premier, then as a member of the Liberal party, the city's Conservative-leaning newspaper, Newfoundlanded under the provincial flag as the "eldest of six children, Jonsson lived through Newfoundland's infancy as its first premier, then as a member of the Liberal party, the city's Conservative-leaning newspaper, Newfoundlanded under the provincial flag as the

The insurance Smallwood sought voters on, confirmed as once through a personal election and committed to an ambitious and immediately implementable program. Smallwood reached the Washington postcard to elect a bureau representative of accountants and members who expressed his passionate devotion to Newfoundland. On one occasion, a government-funded lumber-growth factory project was cancelled. Smallwood, a former lawyer, grew, double-breasted sweaters with wide belts and unfortunately huge lapels. "I looked like a cat off St. John's 16 square," Jensen wrote. "When in each other's company, Smallwood and I would talk about the German high command." Still, Jensen was equally ready to admit his own failures. "I was falling apart," he wrote. "By the time we left Smallwood looked and thought much more like a man. He had a sense of purpose and his ability to overcome the odds."

It is that lesson, that striking ability to motivate politics and players, that distinguishes Mr. Platter for Platter. With shrewd wisdom and self-discipline, Jensen reached the end of his journey. He was a leader, an organizer, a challenger, a guide for my assent politics.

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10 *Home in the World*, *Alvett* (3)
11 *So Many*, *Levi* (4)
12 *The Displacement*, *York*

12 *Proton* last week

Compiled by RITA RICHES



When fiction takes clear precedence

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Your beloved agent is very bad at answering letters (i.e. he never answers any, though he has been working for 38 years to do so). It's a filthy habit, worse in fact than smoking or eating beans with your fingers, and is going to be corrected immediately, as witness this. A correspondence has been received from Marc Grogan of Don 207, Toronto, C.A., and here it is in its entirety:

"Dear Dr. Foth:
Where did you get your sharp tongue? Is there nothing about politics you like? Do you support yourself solely through your column? How old are you? What do you do in your spare time? Aren't you a Front Page Challenge? How long have you been writing for Maclean's? How did you start writing? Could you please send me an autographed picture?"

That is the type of letter I like to get. Marc Grogan, a future writer I suspect, knows how to get on with it. A short letter, composed of short words and short sentences that anyone can understand, devoid of wandering excursions through the GST and Nurek Lash and the philosophical implications of Don Gett's mood. The letter deserves an answer.

"Where did you get your sharp tongue?" The sharp tongue comes, actually, from the fear of being hanged to death by dull words. Most politicians can't write with their hands, and they can't be left if allowed to wander into all of the local political waters started out covering sports, where you learn early on that the error offences are spelling, trapping, betwining, free-wheeling and spinning. Once an editor, a scribe quickly learns that there are error areas and the main centres are orthodoxy, intelligence, bluff, promiscuity, press releases and public relations officers. It is becoming swiftly apparent to me in recent weeks that the only possible defence against this mind-blowing world is a sharp tongue.

"Is there nothing about politics you like?" Of course there is. The ongoing infighting within the Prime Minister's office in the Commons to get rid of the lower order and the bloodlines of the mother of per sevelles cabinet



minister who has to resign three days later is wonderful to behold. The words for The National stage of Shale Cappa in Ontario Period is better than most things you could see on Broadway—and you don't have to pay 75 bucks for a seat. Fisheries Minister then sports, and there are more clowns than Eddie Stock 1 lose it.

"Do you support yourself solely through your column?" As a matter of fact, I do not get paid anything by Maclean's for the column but by a strange arrangement the column's territory amongst me three times a week into the magazine's cafeteria, where I am allowed all the yogurt and Kool-Aid I can consume. In addition, I have a free membership to the Maclean's bowling league, and Thursday nights are the highlight of my life especially when Barbara Ann's page ever from London is set pen.

"How old are you?"

I am so old I can remember when Harold Ballard was last in jail. I am so old that I can remember when Brian Mulroney applauded the Constitution that he now says isn't worth the paper it was written on. I am so old I can remember when chocolate bars were 10 cents, rather than the 45-cents they were last week at Toronto's Keith Drury Memorial August, just before I'm 38.

"What do you do in your spare time?" There is no spare time, what with the bowing league and the endless amount of time writing around getting, pull-rides, at the letters that never get answered.

"Aren't you a Front Page Challenge?" Actually, I'm not, but I've heard this rumor before. What has happened, apparently, is that the world's longest-running panel show has recently taken in a short, dark Scotswoman who speaks in his parlance in English as he looks and—because he is ashamed of his ethnic heritage—tells everyone he name is Fotheringham, which, as students of the language know, is Scottish in origin, coming somehow from Norman French. You could look it up.

"How long have you been writing for Maclean's?"

If I can recall correctly, the first column on the back back page was at the autumn of 1975. It was about the resignation of John Turner from the Truistion cabinet. The second column was about one Brian Mulroney as a future Tory leader. This would make the page the world's longest-running panel show. One does not have to think about this too much, since, if the 1975 memory is correct, that would mean that some 520 columns—considering diagonally across holiday later—have gone under the bridge, which means Ray Peterson's clever fingers must be safely tired. And he doesn't even get a bowling league.

"How did you start writing?"

This is a quite simple. I started writing once it was clear that I could not master a hammer, or a saw, or a chisel, as a back-school, school arts class that did not contain real woodwork. I could sew in a light bulb. I have had a car for a year, and a son joined out the other day—in some embarrassment after 45 minutes on a typewriter—that the machine is fact had a fifth gear, an automatic, however, he followed the driver. When contractions as to moving bodies in a bright light found some time, you come up an amazing discovery. You are a one-talent person and you perhaps should stick to it or you will starve to death. That is what every writer starts writing.

"Could you please send me an autographed picture?" Certainly.

WHERE WOULD YOU RATHER SIT. BEHIND THE FRONT END OR IN IT?



Of these two family vehicles only one is required to meet passenger car safety standards. Which might explain why the front end of a Volvo wagon is equipped with an impact absorbing crumple zone that helps protect its passengers. And why the front end of some minivans include impact absorbing components of a slightly different nature.

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